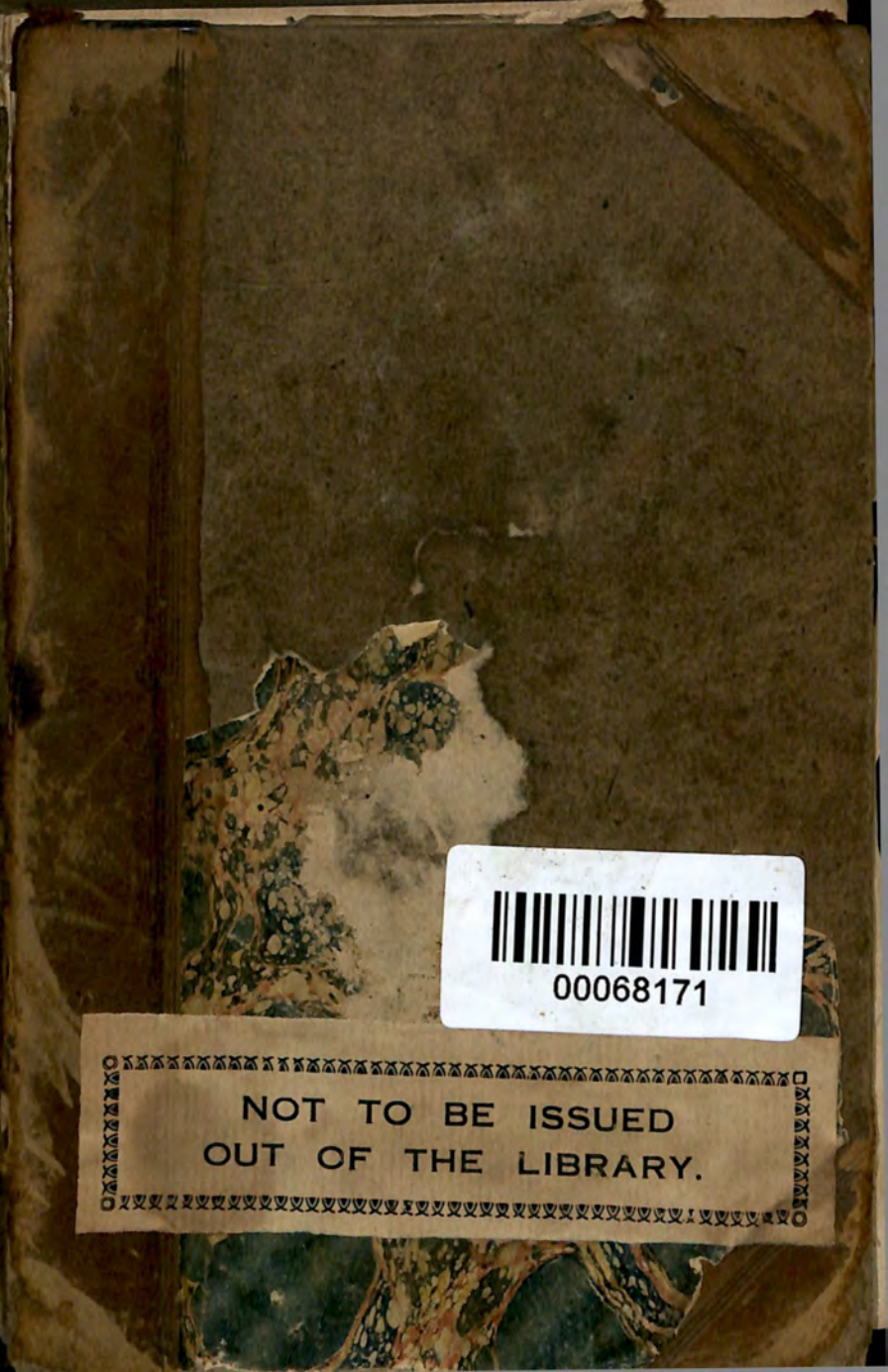
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SCRIPTURE LANDS

IN CONNECTION WITH

THEIR HISTORY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX, AND EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT DURING AN EASTERN TOUR IN 1856-57.

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By G. S. DREW, M.A.,

INCUMBENT OF ST. BARNABAS, SOUTH KENNINGTON,
AUTHOR OF "REVEALED ECONOMY OF HEAVEN AND EARTH," "SCRIPTURE STUDIES," "LECTURES TO EVENING CLASSES," ETC.

"If the whole scheme of Scripture ever comes to be understood, before the *restitution of all things*, and without miraculous interpositions, it must be . . . by particular persons attending to, comparing, and pursuing, intimations scattered up and down it, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world. . . . And, possibly, it might be intended that events, as they come to pass, should open and ascertain the meaning of several parts of Scripture."—Bishop Butler.

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PREFACE.

THE object of this work is to employ in the illustration of Sacred History, the "notes and recollections" of a journey through Scripture Lands during the winter and spring of 1856–57. In the Introductory Chapter I have explained the method of the book, and the principles on which it has been written. Here, however, it may be well to indicate, in a few preliminary words, the direction of my journey, and to acknowledge the assistance which I have received in the use which I have endeavoured to make of it.

After ascending the Nile as far as Philæ, and spending some days at Thebes, I went through the desert, in a more leisurely and careful journey than is possible in the large parties of twelve or fifteen who are hurried on in what are called the dragoman's parties from Cairo to Jerusalem. In the hospitable family of the Rev. Mr. Lieder, chaplain at Cairo, I had the good fortune to meet with the Rev. W. Arthur (of the Wesleyan Missionary Society) and his accomplished lady, who, with W. Clay, Esq. (of New York), were my companions in the desert. We took the long route by Bissateen to Suez, and stayed to ascend the chief mountains in the peninsula, as well as to explore the

neighbourhood of Sinai. After leaving the convent, we ascended the central pass of the Tîh, instead of going on the beaten track to Akabah, and we then went across the Paran highlands, by Beersheba, to Jerusalem. With Mr. Clay, I subsequently made the journey from Jerusalem to Petra, where we remained undisturbed for two days, with every opportunity for a deliberate examination of the rock city. From Jerusalem our path homeward was along the usual route, through North Palestine and Damascus. And in this latter part of our journey, as once before, in "going down from Jerusalem to Jericho," we had the advantage of travelling in company with the Rev. J. L. Porter, the well-known author of some of the most valuable works on Syria.

To those works I have been much indebted in the following pages, and I also gladly acknowledge many obligations to Dr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. Once or twice I have ventured to dissent from some of the conclusions of this accomplished writer; but I should say that, with scarcely an exception, we found reason to admire the exactness, not less than we did the graphic power and vividness, of his delineations. This book was written, and partly printed, before the publication of Dr. Smith's *Biblical Cyclopædia*. I could not, therefore, avail myself, as I should otherwise have done, of Mr. Grove's topographical contributions to that work, which show most extensive knowledge of his subject, and are models of clearness and accuracy. Of the notes to Dr. Traill's *Josephus*[1] I have made frequent use. But, like all these

[1] All these notes were written by Mr. Isaac Taylor, who edited the work.

writers, I also am chiefly indebted to Reland's *Palæstina*, and Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*. They have justly earned, as they must always occupy, the place of standard authorities on the history and topography of Scripture Lands. Dr. Robinson's volumes were continually in my hands all through the journey, and I can truly say that in perfect correspondence with his wide and massive learning are his abilities as a geographer, and not less so are the clearness and accuracy of his descriptions.

I desire, in conclusion, to make especial mention of my obligations to Mr. Arthur, unto whose large knowledge and clear judgment, as well as to his personal kindness, I was so much indebted, during our journey in the peninsula. And my thanks are also due to my friend the Rev. W. H. Johnstone, Professor and Chaplain of Addiscombe, for his kindness in looking over the following sheets as they were going through the press.

London, October, 1860.

"The whole polity of the Hebrew nation is seen to be a preparation for an universal society which is to spring out of it: their whole literature shapes itself to become a manual for that society. That fundamental idea which philosophers say lies at the root of every nation . . . was, in the Hebrews, the idea of the coming of a Lord and King of Mankind, no less than of their own people. They could not have been fit for any of these ends if they had been less human, and if their polity had been less in harmony with the laws of man and the universe than the politics of the Greeks and Romans; it needed to be more in harmony, and must have been more so, in fact, for more has been able to survive, and pass into new and diverse forms of society. But being fit for these, because the original laws and subsequent developments of their polity and literature lay in such near relation with the ultimate laws of human nature and society, they were thus also fitted to become the channels of God's revelation of Himself to all mankind."—STRACHEY'S *Hebrew Politics*, p. 94.

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ERRATA.

Page 212, line 17, *dele* its.
„ 218 „ 21, *for* possible, *read* probable.
„ 231 „ 17 „ very few, *read* few more.
„ 252 „ 14 „ sepulchre, *read* sepulchres.
„ 257, in note, „ λησται, *read* λῃσται.
„ 263, line 20 „ by, *read* with.
„ 267 „ 8 „ seems, *read* seemed.
„ 308 „ 16 „ this, *read* the.
„ 309 „ 11, *dele* who were, *and line* 14, *insert* who.
„ 364, in note, *read* le premier et le plus grand, &c.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

THE History of Scripture Lands is the record of occurrences through which the Divine Cause has been carried forward, and the Revelation of the Mind and Will of God has been given to the world. We possess this history in a narrative, which is connected and continuous from the beginning; and the special purpose of this volume is to develop and interpret some of its details, by the aid of personal observations, and of contemporary records.

When the narrative has been completed, it is such—especially it is so graphic and picturesque in the greater part of it—that it invites, beyond all other histories, such treatment for its elucidation. There are, however, certain prior and preliminary considerations needful. The record, which it is thus proposed to interpret and develop, is not single and homogeneous, but constructed of materials from two sources which are distinct in their origin, and their authority. We do not find the narrative to which our comments are to be attached, entire in the Bible. As the inspired documents do not contain the history of a State or of a people, but of the progress and advancement of a cause, so neither is this history presented by them in orderly continuity of narrative, but rather in isolated notices, that are distinct by frequent gaps and chasms from one

another, and which are often interrupted by episodical, and apparently irrelevant, statements and narrations. In popular ordinary classification they may be spoken of as history, but an exacter account will rather describe them as historical memoirs or materials. They are landmark records illuminating detached spaces in past time, and so carrying us back over the course traversed by the Divine Cause from the beginning, but they do not present a continuously lightened path; and in order to connect them, and that the path actually traversed may be seen, they need such supplementary notices as may be gathered from the sources of ordinary history. Indeed, apart from such notices, the historical books of Scripture are not, as history, intelligible: the entire document is not in our possession. In other cases, the work of the interpreter is finished when he has ascertained the meaning of his author, who thenceforth takes his place as an independent witness, liable to be corrected and revised, and, perhaps, calling for supplements and illustrations from other sources. It is not so in this case; and this practical modification of the sense in which we call the Bible Records history, must be considered carefully, and carefully observed in the work of interpretation. When, by the best appliances of criticism and exegesis, we have elicited their meaning, that meaning must be considered fixed and incapable of correction; it is certain and authentic. But it is only a portion, the separated masses and columns, of a structure, for the completion of which the Book itself calls for our researches into every source of information that is accessible. Monumental sculptures and inscriptions, the traces of ruined works which have been excavated, or which are now crumbling on the earth's surface,

tablets, coins, medals, the researches of philology—all these, along with contemporary records, must be made use of by the interpreter, in order that he may read his document entire, understanding its separated portions, and connecting them in an unbroken line with one another.

The Bible itself distinctly indicates the directions in which we are to look for this added knowledge; and it enables us to fill up, more and more completely, the unnoticed periods of the sacred history. From one to another of the epochs described by the isolated fragments of the Scripture annals, we can pass on continuous and illustrated ground; and, from these supplementary portions, light is cast on either side of the adjacent statements of the sacred record, as from the same source it is diffused and made to permeate through the very substance of those statements. They are made more definite and more significant; the progress and order of events, from the opening of the record, is not only before us now in connected plenary significance, it is more fully lighted up, more vividly illustrated, as we advance; so that the whole line of history, considered as the chronicle of a series of occurrences, is placed before us in clear, intelligible, consecutive succession—that is, we may say, throughout miraculously perfect; for, while part has been given by special inspiration, the supplementary portion cannot, in many instances, be ascribed to anything less than a providential conservation of the materials from which it has been obtained.

Now, it is to the narrative when thus completed, and not simply to the inspired fragments of it, that our illustrations are to be attached; and we must, therefore, first combine and weave it out of these heterogeneous materials.

The following work, therefore, consists, in fact, of two parts. There is, first, the compilation from the sources, and in the manner above indicated, of the continuous history; and then there are the illustrations which may be helpful in elucidating it. In both parts our path is such that we must advance in it cautiously, and under the guidance of principles clearly ascertained and stated. And here, therefore, it may be well to say a few words of the terms on which those varied materials of the history are to be combined, and upon the law of their mutual relations.

At the outset, then, it may be affirmed, or rather it may be claimed, on behalf of the supplementary facts, that they are as real and authentic, and in this view as worthy of attention, as those are whose blanks and chasms they supply. If these have been given by special inspiration, it is not less true, as has been said, that the others have been miraculously preserved, as, again, open places are clearly left, for the information supplied by them, in the sacred canon. For example, those tablets and rock inscriptions which disclose the state of the Mesopotamian plains in the time of Abraham's migration; the tomb paintings which set Egypt before us during the settlement of the Israelites in Goshen, and which record the changes of dynasties that ended in the Exodus; the exhumed testimonies as to the nature of the Babylonian and Assyrian civilization,—furnish information which, while it is not more, is certainly not less, authentic than is that which is written down in the documents whose blanks are supplied by it. Moreover, it is there found where the blanks, the silence, of those documents significantly direct us to look for it. This must be distinctly stated: we must feel that the information which supplements the Bible history is as

real as is that which the sacred history itself conveys, so that no feeble jealousy, or unwise timidity, may hinder us from using it freely and confidently for the purposes that may be served by it.

No solicitude as to its authority, or as to its purpose and use, in supplementing the sacred records, need be entertained. Yet, on the other hand, we must bear in mind its imperfection, and the consequent limits of our employment of it. For first, it is far more fragmentary than the other; we can only find it, here and there, in parts and morsels. Moreover, it comes to us uncommented on, and unexplained; no living voice accompanies it to expound its meaning and its purpose. Out of facts that are literally dead it is derived; and plainly, therefore, no inferences flowing from it may impair and invalidate any of the statements with which it is brought into connection. In other words, the new materials must come in solely for supplement and illustration, never for revision, or for collation. The Bible, and these notices which supplement its annals, are not two independent witnesses upon level ground, which may be confronted with the view of eliciting the actual truth, by means of a comparison between them. We may thus collate the Nineveh inscriptions and the hieroglyphics of Egypt with Herodotus, but not with Moses and the author of the Book of Kings. We know that they are trustworthy, and no conclusions from any other witnesses may be permitted to disturb our confidence in any statements which we have once clearly and surely ascertained are theirs. We are now speaking only of inferences from these conserved surviving witnesses. Any discrepancy in matters of fact, between them and the explicit statements of the sacred volume, cannot be contemplated, as it has

not occurred. Our remarks relate solely to conclusions that may be drawn from the materials in question; and any discrepancy between them and the explicit statements of the sacred volume is a reason for at once putting those conclusions aside, either as erroneously obtained, or as imperfect, in consequence of deficient data for supplying them.

From the form and methods in which these supplementary materials are furnished, this principle or rule of employing them may be inferred. The fact that, though unquestionable, they are thus broken and scattered, as well as lifeless, at once dictates it. And it is indefinitely confirmed by the uncertainty that attaches to them, when regarded chronologically. Those who are charged with the task of sorting them in order of time, or of eliciting from them systems of chronology, give the most varied and discrepant results.[1] And how then should we allow them to discredit an authentic witness, when this uncertainty as to their respective dates leaves us in doubt whether they are so placed in time as that they can be confronted with him? Besides, no chronological boundaries are clearly marked in the earlier portions of the sacred volume. We must abandon the hope of arranging the primeval stages of the history with precision, and of measuring accurately, even in centuries, the exact length from its starting point of its downward flow, or, again, if we could fix this, of estimating the exact distance of that point from the beginning. There are, as is well known, three distinct systems of chronology given in connection with the inspired text; and that which is in most common use is, in important instances, blemished by inconsistencies that are only to be explained by such a

[1] See Appendix, Note A.

corruption of the text as adds to the perplexity here spoken of. Had the chronology of the Bible been single and defined, then, in accordance with the principles above laid down, it must have overruled every intimation from inferior and ordinary sources. But as the case stands, in the uncertainty which here besets us for a long period on both sides, we can but distantly approach to a synchronization of the events communicated from our two sources of information. And in this synchronization, those which we have called the supplementary materials must, both on account of their greater vagueness as shown by the discrepant results that have been obtained from them, as because they are broken, scattered, lifeless, unexplained, while yet they are authentic, bear a part that is only secondary and subordinate.

In this aspect they must be regarded, while yet, in weaving into continuous narrative the history to which our illustrations are to be attached, we may use them freely and confidently in whatever quarter they may be found.—Being, then, in this manner, and in subjection to these rules, completed, the history must next be handed over to the traveller, that his special work upon it may be accomplished. Here then, is the region of the special labour of the writer of this volume: the record, thus entire, is to be illustrated, and brought into relief: as far as possible it is now to be reanimated, by means of those peculiar aids which nothing will furnish but actual inspection of the scenes where the history was transacted.

For all history, however accurately written, is, of necessity, partly written in language that needs to be translated; and for this purpose it must be carried away and read in the very scene where the events occurred, that are described

in it. The original language of large portions of every record is found in the shape, and aspect, and properties of the material framework of its narrations. The ground, the climate, the physical relations of the country, the levels and configuration of its surface, its rivers and its coasts, its sky, its soil, its temperature, the form and scale on which all these are fashioned—and then, again, its domestic and national usages, the costume of its social life—all these are not accessory, but essential, portions of the narrative. They determine, and shape, and animate it. They give the rate of its intensity, and the line of its direction, and the mould of its development. Hence they constitute part of the language that conveys it; and whatever words, therefore, represent them, must be often and closely collated with the original, that they may be duly valued and understood; the mere names that designate the features of the country, its rivers, mountains, plains,—must be continually defined and realized by free detail and description: the significance of geographical terms and phrases must be interpreted by means of particulars that are precisely given, and that represent, as nearly as may be, in known equivalents, the unknown value and emphasis of the original expression. In its soil, and sky, and climate, in its yet surviving social usages, we look on the very things of which the text of the history gives us the symbols and representatives; and we must render these, by minute, particular description, into forms that will accurately represent them to the reader. Correctly as they may be written down on the page before him, each allusion to the material framework of the history will actually mislead him, if he is not, in this way, by this reference to the very state and complexion of the place,

instructed to correct and modify those conceptions of it which he has derived from his own personal experience; or, if the words of the history are accurately rendered, yet, for the emphasis of them, he is dependent upon the agency now spoken of, and this is what is meant by saying that it must be carried away, and read on the scene of its occurrence.

For personal knowledge of the country, and exact intimacy with its characteristic features, with its shape, its products, its climate, and its skies, and, as influenced by these, with the social usages of its occupants, we here claim more than is generally assigned to this part and aid in historical interpretation. We speak of it, not as furnishing advantageous and interesting illustrations of the history, but as furnishing portions of the original history itself, of the forms it was cast in, of the aspect it assumed. We have already alluded to it as the source of verbal illustrations, so that the traveller's observations are absolutely essential to the success of the labours of the philologer, who must turn to him for the equivalents of terms that are otherwise inexplicable. We have alluded also to that emphasis of the narrative, those disclosures of its tone and spirit, that can be given only from this source, even when the terms of it are accurately understood. And to these two uses of travel this also may be added that, by means of it, the course and order of the occurrences, as given in any record, can alone be harmonized and understood.

The use of travel in illustrating narratives, in other words, the dependence of history upon geography, may be definitely stated under these three heads. And it is remarkably exemplified in the case of the sacred record.

It is, indeed, essential, if the history is fully to serve its purpose of acquainting us with the circumstances and events through, and amidst, which the Divine Cause has been carried forward during the period over which the inspired history extends. For what has been called the emphasis communicated to them from the above-named sources, often represents and determines that personal character of the agents in it, which is, in this case, necessary to be apprehended. The Divine Cause, at certain epochs in its progress, is represented to us by the conceptions respecting it in the minds of those who are thus brought forward, and by their personal demeanour. Hence the framework of the narrative here stands blended, or rather is identical, with its very substance. And so it is that those who, by travel or study, have vividly realized that framework, have felt that hereby another aspect has been cast over the sacred volumes; in a degree not experienced in the case of any other record, it has become a new book to them after this vivid realization has been effected.

Moreover, it is remarkable, yet not more so than analogy might have led us to expect, that, as this realization is of such consequence, of such essential moment, in the instance of the sacred history, so, in this instance, it is more practicable, more easily effected, than in any other that can be named. The certain accuracy of the Bible story, its marked objectiveness, its fresh and vivid colouring and costumes, the singular clearness and precision with which it reflects the scenery of the transaction represented in it, the innumerable points of its contact with the surrounding material world; then, again, the settled features of the East, its fixed usages, the stereotyped forms and monotonous tone of Orientalism, which are now almost what they were during

the whole period that Scripture comprehends; and especially the hard and sternly marked character of nature as it exists in Palestine, and is developed there;—all these causes make this collation of the representative, with the original, language of the inspired records easier, and, at the same time, more striking, more impressive and productive, than such a collation in any other instance that can be named. And this is as true of the supplementary, as of the primary, canonical, Divinely given records. Nearly the whole of them—indeed all until the later chapters of the story—being derived from Eastern sources, are as much advantaged by the collation, have as large and as available room for it, as the original narrative to which they are attached, which they complete and, historically speaking, perfect. So that, upon the whole, it may be said that hardly any history, certainly no ancient history, can be so accurately, intelligently, fruitfully, perused as this can, in those portions of it that have been shaped and moulded by its material framework, and by the outward form and constitution of the individual, family, and national life that constitutes its subject.

But then, it must be observed, how the use of this means of interpretation, this going from the representative to the original language of the record, whereby the sacred history is brought more vividly before us than any other—demands, while we employ such aids to understand the history and to value it, a special regard to the great characteristics which separate it from ordinary records. What we now speak of, is a characteristic apart from the inspiration of the inspired portions of it. It consists in the fact that, its moral and design being now in our view complete, this should

be carried back into every page and fragment of it from the beginning, in order that each particular event it describes may be understood. In varying degrees of inferior meaning, this may also doubtless be affirmed respecting every chronicle of human life, and of national progress and transactions. Its moral significance when it is completed, the bearing of its design when this has been fully manifested and wrought out, sends back a reflex light under which every part is more intelligently contemplated, and more perfectly understood. But incomparably more than this backward illumination from the advancing progress of the history may be discerned in Scripture. Most eminently, every part of the sacred record needs to be contemplated in the light that emanates from it as a whole. Not only do its closing pages give profounder, intenser meaning to those which are earlier in the series, but they there bring into view objects, persons, and occurrences which, previously, and apart from them, could not be discerned. Especially they enable us to see The Presence, all through the transactions detailed in them, of the Divine Guide and Ruler of that people which was chosen to unfold His revelation, and of whose history they are the records. We shall, indeed, discern His presence in all history, if we read it with devout thoughtfulness; for has He not controlled and ordered all the counsels and movements of man from the beginning? Is not all history, in one view, the revelation of Himself unto mankind? It is so, indeed; and yet, on this path, in this scene, amongst this people, He disclosed Himself, as He did not elsewhere. Through the movements of this history especially, He determined to reveal Himself. So that He is to be seen there, as He is not in other regions, and amongst other people; and this

marked and signal distinction of the inspired record must ever be borne in mind while it is perused.

Such, however, is the outward framework of the story, so distinctly marked and living and permanent are all its features, so arresting and impressive is it while it thus presses obtrusively upon the mind, so entirely is the attention absorbed by it, that the traveller, and the reader who applies his observations, is perpetually liable to overlook this retrospective significance of the future in relation to the past, this bearing of the advance and of the conclusion of the history, upon its earlier scenes, and on the initial stages of its progress. Thus its intention, and The Presence that should everywhere be discerned in it, may, by this means, be hidden. Those striking peculiarities of its original language, which have been adverted to, cause him who witnesses them to feel as if he were set back amidst the very circumstances of the narrative, while it was proceeding. In each station occupied by him in his observations, his views are thus limited by the boundaries of the events which there transpired, and the outward clothing, the forms, the words and phrases of the revelation, overbear and obscure its inner meaning. Hence the cause of Heaven is liable to be forgotten in the vivid apprehension of the circumstances amidst which it was carried forward; and the danger of resting in them which ever besets those who are, in other departments, engaged in the interpretation of the history, is in this department much increased. One might expect this; and the consciousness of the traveller verifies the expectation: the visible, and the human, overbear, while he is in the very scenes of the sacred history, the truth and instruction, which the outward transactions were intended to convey; and, moreover, as each single stage in

its progress is thus strongly, absorbingly obtruded, he is liable to forget the whole of which it is a part, the majestic procession, with its issues in the future, of which he is looking only on one position, in an earlier stage and point of its advance.

So, in various forms, this is commonly remarked by those who have actually journeyed over the sacred sites and grounds, as it is, in some measure, also felt by others who have vividly and intelligently followed them in their progress. Indeed, unless previously there has been an apprehension of the heavenly meaning of the earthly story, well and firmly grounded, intelligently, livingly, affectionately grasped, the consequences of such near familiarity with the outward framework of the Bible narrative, of living in the very scenes of its transactions, may be harmful and injurious, rather than helpful to belief. Even those who have a clear hold of the inward significance, and an habitual perception of the issues and inferences of the story, when most comprehensively regarded, have found, at each point of their progress, that an effort has been needful to remind themselves on what they are looking, to recollect its actual intention, and to enable them to pierce through its outward framework to its essence, the cause advancing by means of it, the Presence which it has revealed. This has been their experience, while the journey, however thoughtfully prosecuted, was going forward; often it has been productive to them of distress and pain. And in natural sequel they have found that it is not till after their pilgrimage has ended, and its scenes and disclosures, laid up in memory, could be deliberately traversed in the light, and under the guidance, of the purpose of the revelation, and of its form and meaning

as a whole—that they have derived the full advantage of an experience of which they will then think as of the most invaluable privilege of their lives.

Far more profitable to them, therefore, are such deliberate recollections of the journey when, through the softening of time and distance, the outward is in such adjusted relation with the inward, as that this is never overborne by it, and where each portion is then seen in its due relation to that of which it forms a part, than was the journey itself while in actual progress and prosecution. We venture the assertion that all who have visited the East, Palestine especially, with a religious purpose, will acknowledge this to have been the case. And this experience suggests the method in which the traveller's illustrations of the history may be made most largely and effectively available, in which he may fulfil the desire whereof he is naturally conscious to communicate some of the advantages he feels he has obtained in living and moving among Bible scenes. It is that, instead of retracing his steps from point to point in the order of his journey, he should make this, with all the observations collected in it, as they now stand in his remembrance, wholly subordinate to an illustration of the sacred history, following the order of this from the beginning. His endeavour will thus be to help others to read the Bible, from the outset, as one now reads it who has looked on most of the scenes it describes, and seen its habits of life, and who has thus, so to speak, been set back in the distant times, and in the strange lands, with which it is conversant. Ever being mindful, as he journeys in company with the ancient men of Scripture, that he is amongst them as a Christian, that, in virtue of his privilege of living in an advanced stage of the Divine government, he is conscious

of a Presence they did not always see, of purposes they were unconsciously fulfilling, and of an advancing cause the momentousness whereof they did not understand,—he will thus endeavour to picture before his readers, livingly, substantially, as they stand before him, the successive stages of the history, which was made the vehicle of such instruction, the agent of such ends.

This appears to be the manner in which the outward helps of travel may be used most effectively in that large department of interpretation which must be fulfilled by them. They may thus be employed to translate the representative language of the inspired narrative, to disclose its emphasis, its tone, and spirit, and to explain the entangled details of its narrative, while, at the same time, they are kept in that rigid subordination to the sacred story, so that they shall not overbear, or interfere with, its purport, which, as we have seen, the very idea of it, as the record of a great advance in the Divine government, suggests. In thus attaching the illustrations, at successive points, to the history already framed, we may survey each period and all particulars of the sacred narrative in its place and proportions relatively to, and under the light of, the great organic whole whereof it forms a part. Hence, what is external and temporary is less likely to press itself unduly on the regards. The distinctive character of the history, as above described, is continually recognized; and thus used, apart from all that is transient and incidental connected with them, the illustrations are also used far more comprehensively than if they had been collected and amassed by themselves, apart from the line of history which they interpret, and, as we have said, in part translate.

Moreover, when thus employed, they not only illustrate the narrative, but bring it out besides into more solid, prominent relief, and they thus unconsciously deepen that sense of the living reality of the record, which, above all things, the traveller in Bible lands most desires to convey to the minds of those who have not enjoyed his privilege. In this way, still more usefully than even in quickening and instructing an already existing belief, he may originate and impart a sense of the substantial character of the sacred history, in cases where it has not yet been apprehended, as a series of definite realities. This is the method in which materials of the nature employed in the volume should now be made use of in relation to unbelief. Surely the claims of Scripture to be received as an authentic revelation are now so well established that it does not need mere apologetic and vindicatory pleadings from this, or, indeed, from any other source. We have already been supplied abundantly with witnesses and evidences, with vindications and apologies. Another work has now to be undertaken, and that use of travel in Scripture Lands which is here described, may subserve and further it. It is boldly to assume the truth of the inspired volume, and on this firm ground to bring out, without any notice of objectors, and as if unconscious of their cavils, the accordance of visible and unquestionable facts with that assumption. Is it not, thus, by this same method that our hold of the surest modern sciences, and our firmest conviction with respect to their certainty, has been obtained? Is it not such logic which links and rivets those structures of philosophy that stand most firmly in the midst of us? The very same use should now be made of facts that have hitherto been employed only to vindi-

cate or illustrate the sacred history; and, if there be anything in this volume serviceable to unbelief, it will be in such an "evidence of congruity," such a binding of the superstructure on the foundation, that it will be found.

With these views of the purposes of "Bible illustrations," and of the uses to be served by them, they are here blended with the history of which the main epochs, and the chief persons and events, are supposed to be familiar to the reader. Only so many of these have been introduced as might bring forward those views and descriptions, gathered from many sources, as well from his personal recollections, which may serve the purposes above described. Another and larger fulfilment of those purposes is in the writer's prospect, unless, indeed, the work which he meditates is even now in progress under the hands of one far better qualified to accomplish it. Meanwhile, this volume is commended to the reader's notice, in the hope that it may be helpful in enabling him to read some of the sacred pages with a fuller insight into their purport and their spirit, as well as with a deeper conviction of their reality and truthfulness. In these ends the writer's present purpose will have been accomplished, and in view of them he will hope that the labour bestowed upon this volume has not been in vain.

SCRIPTURE LANDS.

CHAPTER I.

LAND OF THE PATRIARCHS.

THE opening period of the history which it is our object to illustrate in the following pages must, of necessity, be passed over. In the call of Abraham, while he was yet in "Ur of the Chaldees," we find the beginning of the Hebrew Church annals, and they include his stay in that country and in Haran, as well as the time occupied in his journey thence unto the "place which was shown to him." The events of those years, and especially during his progress towards his final settlement, would readily admit the kind of elucidation which every history derives from the scene and framework of the transactions contained in it, when the narrative of them is given at any length. But the scantiness of our materials in this period compels us to omit all notice of it. We must first take up the record at that much later epoch, when, having already passed through his future territory, Abraham at length took up his abode within its limits.

There he and his successors in the chieftainship were settled for upwards of two centuries. It was apparently the only region of the country capable of being inhabited, and having resources sufficient for the sustenance of his large community, that had been left vacant by the two great migratory expeditions which had passed, in this direction, from the primeval settlement. They had long before spread themselves over the whole land, except on this southern part of it, even to the uttermost limits of the promised territory. The richest and most fertile tracts had been first occupied, and were still covered by communities of the Hamitic settlers.[1] The Shemites of the second migration were occupying the districts that were in the next degree desirable; and of the still less eligible regions, this alone remained. Nor may we hesitate to say that it had been divinely reserved as the first of the Hebrew Church Lands; for the more we learn of its relative position in regard to surrounding countries, and of its own distinctive characteristics, of the social relations of the community which was settled on it, and of the local influences that wrought upon its occupants, the more clearly is the wisdom of Heaven recognized in its special adaptation to the purposes for which it was chosen and consecrated.

The limits of the country are not more distinctly marked in the sacred record than they are by the nature of the ground itself, and of the adjacent territories on every side of it; and much of the history that was transacted on

[1] "All the Canaanites were Scyths (or Hamites). According to the inscriptions, the Khatti, or Hittites, were the dominant Scythic (Hamitic) race, and they gave way very slowly before Aramæans, Phœnicians, Jews, who were the only extensive Semitic immigrants. The Hittite capital was on the Euphrates."—Sir H. RAWLINSON; *Journ. Asiat. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 230.

its surface is permanently written, in characters that cannot be effaced or altered, in its configuration and structure, in its natural features and resources.[2]

In "journeying towards the south," we first enter on it near the end of the mountain surface[3] that fills up the central space of that part of Palestine which lies west of the Jordan. After emerging from the paths that wind amongst the clustering hills beyond Hebron, we come upon the richest portion of the patriarchal territory, in the broad green valleys, and hilly pastures which soon descend, through numerous intricate and entangled passes, into the moorlands that open on the wilderness. Thence it extended as far as to the shore-line, where the wilderness country gradually and gently flows in upon its pastures. From

[2] Van de Velde (vol. ii. pp. 74–148), Robinson (*Bib. Res.* vol. i. 200–211; ii. 196–207, 2nd edit.), and Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, pp. 192–224), give the most trustworthy and graphic descriptions of this region. Dr. R.'s work was continually in my hands during our journey on the west and east sides of it; on the west from Wady Jaifeh, through Beersheba and Dhoheriyeh, to Hebron, and afterwards on the east in the usual route from Jerusalem to Petra. Extracts from the journal which I kept daily on both lines, are marked J. in the following notes.

[3] The nature of this mountain surface may be understood by imagining a clustered mass of hills (the highest rising at Hebron to the height of 3,029 feet) standing on a plain, which slopes steeply from the Mediterranean to the Jordan valley. This mass, about 70 miles long from Esdraelon to the wilderness, and, on an average, about 25 broad, declines gradually, or sinks in lesser eminences, in the former direction, but stands in abrupt precipices over the lower ground upon the east. The wilderness country (מִדְבָּר) towards which it descends upon the south, must be carefully distinguished from the desert (הָעֲרָבָה). This latter word, which denotes an arid and utterly desolate spot, is used in the singular, to indicate the parched and naked chasm through which the Jordan flows, and which extends from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akabah. For a fuller description of this part of the patriarchal territory, which forms the northern border of the Paran wilderness, and the settlement of the Hebrews for thirty-eight of their forty years' wandering, see Ch. III.

west to east it was measured from the belt of sand that immediately succeeds the Shephelah, or Philistine plain, to the precipitous heights which overhang the Ghor and the wild desolate valley of El Arabah. These are the limits of the territory, which covered about twenty-five miles in the first of these directions,[4] and about twice that distance in the second. The wilderness portion of it forms the high north-western corner of the broad plateau, or table-land of Paran, which here slopes westward from its boundary on this side of the Arabah, and south-west towards the Wady El Arish, through which, as the drain of the whole region, its waters flow into the Mediterranean. Far and wide the eye wanders over an undulating and broken surface, an almost uniform blending of moor and down, and of low uplands. Spacious and thinly-covered pasturages, surrounded by low and narrow hills, or rather embankments, as some of them may be called, are mingled and varied, here and there, with richer spaces, and occasionally are broken by heights bolder and more abrupt. Such is the general aspect of the country to one stationed in the centre of it, and looking, in an eager first glance, discursively upon its features.

[4] That is, measuring from Hebron to Wady Jaifeh. There the desolate spaces of the wilderness cease on what we may call the shore line, where it flows in on always cultivated territory. "Soon after starting this morning (from Wady Jaifeh) we came upon—strange sight!—patches of ground under cultivation, and growing barley and oats. Further on we found extensive traces of field enclosures. At 11.30 we reached Berein, and rested under the shade of the first group of trees we have seen since leaving the garden at Sinai. The whole country around Eboda was evidently under cultivation. Wide grassy swards, and ploughed fields, just before we reached this Wady Abeyad, where we are now encamped, show that this region was included in the 'South country.'"—J., April 13th.

Imagine an observer so stationed, on one of the low hills that surround the plain of Beersheba. In the north his prospect is bounded by the long and gently-ascending range of the Judean heights; and if he had come thence, he would remember the narrow, and entangled passes which led from that quarter, with the little hills rising up in nipple form on every side of them, having around their roots rich deep plots of soil that opened out between each cluster into wide luxuriant plains. Far away towards the south, in an easterly direction, his view would be limited by occasional masses of mountainous dimensions when they are compared with any of the eminences closer on his station. In that direction the stony surface of the wilderness succeeds the thin pastures around him, into which it extends in gulfs or bays. Not till he neared the western boundary of sand would he obtain any glimpses of the sea; but directly eastward in his view a long row of purple hills overlooked an open garden territory, well watered everywhere and of prodigal luxuriance, but having a climate in the extremest degree enervating and oppressive; as again, beyond those hills, were broad and fertile table-lands, well adapted for the support of the giant race by which they were then occupied.[5]

In no part of the prospect was there any loveliness, or any features of greatness and sublimity. None of the luxuries of landscape scenery met the eye on any side. Every aspect of the country that might be called beautiful is seen in the narrow section of the mountain district immediately on the south of Hebron. No lakes or rivers,

[5] "The Emim dwelt in the land of the Moabites in times past, a people great, and many, and tall as the Anakim."—*Deut.* ii. 10, 11.

or masses of foliage, or deep ravines, or any lofty, towering heights, are within range of sight to one in the centre of the territory. The mountains which have just been spoken of come near enough in sight to break the monotony of the view on approaching the southern and eastern boundaries; and verdant recesses are occasionally met with, especially in the passes leading down through the Judean hills. For a few weeks late in spring-time a smiling aspect is thrown over the broad downs, when the ground is reddened with the anemone, in contrast with the soft white of the daisy, and the deep yellow of the tulip and marigold.[6] But this flush of beauty soon passes, and the permanent aspect of the country is—not wild indeed, or hideous, or frightfully desolate,[7] but, as we

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[6] "Now (at Beersheba) we came in view, north and north-east, of the hills of Judæa; and as we went on our way there was the richest profusion of field flowers I ever beheld. Imagine the Sussex Downs enclosed on all sides by gently-rising embankments, and cover them with flowers of golden and purple, and, above all, of scarlet hues, and you have the plain of Beersheba as I saw it. Flocks of sheep and goats, of camels and asses, were browsing everywhere, but we saw no oxen. . . . Through a long winding pass, singularly beautiful with its living green, and with the beds of golden flowers in the middle of it, we came to Dhoheriyeh, beyond which we were in the hill-country of Judæa. Naked grey rocks, swelling and rounded in their outlines, and here and there covered with rich verdure by the terrace cultivation, gardens, vineyards, and frequent walls, surrounded us everywhere, while we were still some distance from Hebron. . . . I shall never forget the glaring gray of the landscape just before (at 11 A. M.) we rode up the hill, whence we had our first view of the old city."—J., April 15th.

[7] Except in the wilderness country bordering on the Dead Sea. This, with few exceptions (as at Engedi), has probably always had the naked, wild appearance which it now wears.—"The whole district here, from Arad to Sebbeh, is nothing but a bare arid wilderness, an endless succession of yellow and ash-coloured rocks, without grass or shrubs, quite uninhabited, without water, and almost without life."—Van de Velde, vol. ii. p. 99. He also speaks of frequent traces of volcanic action among the rocks, which, in even terrific

may say, austerely plain,—a tame unpleasing aspect, not causing absolute discomfort while one is in it, but left without one lingering reminiscence of anything lovely, or awful, or sublime.

As for the soil, the thin and scanty verdure, barely covering the limestone which spreads almost everywhere beneath the desert surface, sufficiently explains its nature. Here and there patches of deeper earth, and richer swards, with clumps of trees, vary these pastures of the wilderness; as again they are broken by wide areas, thickly covered with shrubs of considerable height and size. These features mark not only a sinking of the rock surface, but the abundant presence of water, which is seldom lacking in any part of the region. It is found everywhere, and in many parts the supply is ample; as might be inferred from the heavy rains of the winter season, and from the "streams of the south" that pour down from the Judean hills, and sweep over the surface through its drain, in the Wady El Arish, into the Mediterranean. These rains fall in great abundance towards the beginning of winter, and at its close, as it is passing into the spring months. Heavy falls of snow are frequent, and the frosts are sometimes severe.[8] The dryness of the ground, however, and its nearness to the sea, as well as its exemption from bleak winds, prevent the winters from being inclement; nor, on account of the high

confusion, cover its whole surface. The views of Sebbeh and Masada, in Dr. Traill's *Josephus*, give an accurate idea of this region.

[8] Dr. Stewart, who travelled over this country in the late winter months, frequently mentions the severe cold. When he was within a few miles (S.) of Beersheba on Feb. 15, he writes (*Tent and Khan*, p. 204),—"The grass around the tent was covered with hoar-frost when we awoke, and the water in the zimzimieh was frozen." Beersheba is 1,100 feet above the sea.

level of the ground, are the summers oppressive; the heat is never enervating or unhealthy.

Such, in its outline and general features, was the patriarchal territory—the ground upon which first the chosen family, the Church, was called and stationed. The upper part of it, among the hills on the south of Hebron, was shared with the people which inhabited that city; but the moorlands situated on the lower level, the "pastures of the wilderness," appear to have been occupied solely by the patriarch. No hindrance would be interposed to bar his occupation of them by the community in Hebron, or by the enervated and profligate inhabitants of the plain which they overlooked upon the east, where Lot had taken up his residence. Indeed all his new associates would rather welcome the presence of the strong man and his retainers, as a protection against the marauders of the desert. They could not, at all events, grudge him the ground of his new settlement; for, excepting the country over which he had passed in his day's journey from Bethel, it was the least desirable province or district of the land, the whole of which had been promised to Abraham; and, after he had assured himself that the guiding Hand had indeed led him to this station, he might be greatly surprised when he contrasted it with the more fertile and wealthy districts included within the limits by which his covenanted possessions were defined.

For the limits of his future territory had been made known to him, and he had actually travelled over a considerable portion of it; but, compared with many of its districts—for instance, with the rich Damascus plain, with the woodland pastures of the Hauran, with the beautiful

and luxuriant valleys of Central Palestine where he had so desired to settle; nay, even with the garden country of the territory immediately bordering his settlement on the north—how bare and poor were these pastures of the wilderness, these moorland plains, these thinly-covered hills! On the other hand, it was an improvement of his position upon the vast sandy wastes of Haran,[9] with its severe vicissitudes of climate, though at first he had missed the mighty river of his Mesopotamian settlement, with its tributaries. And how much better, too, were these bare uplands—scanty as their resources were, and devoid of beauty and of luxury—than a place on the rich Chaldean plains, or in the verdant Nile valley, which he had lately visited, or even in the richer countries he had heard of in the far west, when an abode there involved his association with their superstitious, enslaved, and profligate inhabitants!

Here, at all events, his tribe was free from that social contamination which he chiefly dreaded. While he had frequent opportunities of communicating with surrounding nations by means of the caravans which crossed his territory, and while he was in habits of friendly intercourse with the simple community then occupying Hebron

[9] Haran, which was the scene of Crassus' defeat by the Parthians, is twenty miles south-east of Orfah (Edessa). The position of it was pointed out to Buckingham (*Travels in Mesopotamia*), "in a barren desert, and where the horizon is as level as that of the open sea." As the name signifies, it was "a dry place," treeless and waterless. It was, however, always of considerable importance, as the junction of three great caravan routes; one towards the Tigris, through Nisibis; another southwards, to the great towns on the Euphrates; and the third south-west, towards Syria.—See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi. pp. 291–299; where he has collected all that is known of Haran and its neighbourhood.

and its neighbourhood, his society was yet, by its position, so fenced and secluded from corrupt intercourse, as to be exempt from any of the mischiefs flowing from that quarter.

Moreover, the aspects of nature around him were propitious to intellectual soundness. None of those local impressions that are favourable to dispositions of murkiness and fanaticism, nothing overwhelming and terrific, wrought upon the occupants of those downs and vales. Nor, on the other hand, were there any of those soft and romantic influences that might stimulate the imagination in gay fanciful creations. The Divine agencies that were meant to work on the minds of the people, wrought there without abatement or interference. Nor were the resources of the country insufficient, if they were not ample and exuberant. With diligent cultivation, the land under ordinary circumstances yielded adequate supplies; and, in times of scarcity, Egypt, with its boundless grain resources, was accessible by a four or five days' march across the route, lying south of the encampment, over which Abraham had twice journeyed. In respect of climate, the ground was eminently fitted for training and nurturing men of valorous and robust natures: no position more favourable for healthful physical development could have been chosen. Brave and hardy warrior shepherds—strong sons of the wilderness, as we may call them—naturally grew up in Abraham's encampment.

Indeed, no others could have occupied his position. The outcast races of the desert,[10] which had largely sub-

[10] "The outcast races of the desert." The peninsula was already, in Abraham's day, overrun by the wandering Bedouins, who appear, even at

sisted on the fertile spaces around Beersheba, and been accustomed to make predatory incursions thence on the grounds of the wealthy proprietors of Hebron, and to plunder the richly-laden caravans that passed through the neighbourhood, would naturally resent the settlement of the patriarch and his retainers. Only strong and valiant men could have kept these lawless bands in check. So it was, as before remarked, that the presence of Abraham's community was valued on this account. And, doubtless, their valour was often proved and exercised in resisting the onsets of these marauders. We know how they showed it in the defeat of the invaders, who had easily overcome the dissolute and enfeebled races living there under a tropical climate, in the neighbouring Vale of Siddim, deep in the unhealthy valley of the Ghor. Hastening up the Jordan valley with the impetuous zeal of vengeance, Abraham's troops overtook the Hamite army when it was resting from its long and weary march on the woody heights of the Phœnician settlement of Laish. It fled, while the patriarch and his confederates pursued them,

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that time, to have been known by the name of Amalekites (Gen. xiv. 7.) It does not affect this conclusion, that Amalek was the name given to one of Esau's grandsons; since, with the Bedouin tastes of the Edomite family, it was not unnatural that the name of the founder of the great desert race should be taken for the designation of one of the chief members of that family. Abulfeda (De Sacy's *Excerp. ex Abulf.*, p. 543) says that Amalekites was the name of one of the Arabian tribes; and collecting the later notices of them, in their assaults upon the Israelites after the Exodus; in their invasion of Palestine during the time of the Judges; and in the war upon them by Saul and David, and by the Simeonites on the south country, it seems most probable that it was a designation applied to all the Bedouins of that early period. They stood in relation to Abraham as the three Arab tribes, the Jehalîn, the Taâmireh, and the Tiyâhah, who now occupy his ground, stand to the proprietors at present living around Hebron.

along the road of his former journey, as far as the outskirts of Damascus. And then, in memorable assertion of his divine calling, he wrested from them the spoils of their tyrannical aggression, and by the mighty valour of his righteous and free spirit raised an effective barrier against the enlargement, in that direction, of the Babel tyranny from the blighting shades of which he had gone forth. The vanquished forces had, no doubt, been thinned and weakened by disease in the pestilent region they had been overrunning.[11] But still, the valour of Abraham's retainers, their courage and strength, were proved by this great victory, and were acknowledged with marked respect, after their return. Not even the modest, noble generosity, which was manifested by the great chief when Melchizedek met him, would more impress his neighbours than the warlike prowess of this immigrant race, which was occupying the scanty pastures in their neighbourhood.

Their valour, indeed, must have occasioned some uneasiness in the minds of Abraham's confederates. For,

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[11] This expedition of Chedorlaomer—identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with Kudur-Mabuk, who bears on the monuments the title of Apda-Martu, or "Ravager of the West,"—is naturally enough supposed, from the details of his enterprise, to have been undertaken on account of an interference with the commercial intercourse carried on, by means of caravans, between the Nile and the Euphrates. These caravans would cross the Paran wilderness by the oasis known as the "Oak of Paran" (Gen. xiv. 6); passing Ain Weibeh (Kadesh), they would go through the Vale of Siddim, over the highland country of the Rephaim and Emim, then north-eastward across the Damascus plain, and so through Tadmor to the northern fords of the great river. This was the route of Chedorlaomer's expedition. See Tuch's "Remarks on Gen. xiv." (*Journ. of Sac. Liter.* vol. ii. p. 80), which, however, are confused by his acceptance of Mr. Rowland's theory respecting Kadesh, and his identifying El Paran with Elath or Aileh, the port of the east gulf of the Red Sea.

how could they expect the community which had manifested such power, to remain content within its narrow limits between them and the wilderness? And the only direction in which it could extend its possessions was northward. The Hebrews had already spread themselves over all the spaces which they could occupy on the south: the coast dwellings on the west were not suitable to their habits. Eastwards, first the unhealthy climate of the Ghor, and then the power of the races on the highland country beyond, forbade any movement in that direction. The resources and self-control of the patriarch were, therefore, the only protection of the dwellers in and around Hebron against an aggressive movement on his part.

In this view we have an explanation of the respect and deference which was manifested to the new settler. And the same consideration throws light on the nature of the discipline under which the patriarchal society was living, and on the terms of its existence. Is it not probable, or may we not say certain, that often, in the course of the animated conferences of Abraham's followers, under the tent canopy or in the circles gathered round their night fires, they would urge him, as the leader of men who had so approved their valour in the recent overthrow of the Babylonian kings, to take up by force his position in the richer territory, which they had twice visited, and with the resources of which they were so familiar? Even if they did not advance as far northward as Shechem, the Hebron province, and the country to the north of it, as far as Salem, was incomparably preferable, and more secure as a residence for their community. Reproaches for indifference to the welfare of his retainers, and even menaces of revolt,

would, as these considerations were brought forward, be encountered by the patriarch in his visits, as he went, to and fro, to the different stations where his flock were at pasture, or where their scanty crops were growing up. There were foreigners in his encampment—others as well as the Egyptian Hagar and Eliezer of Damascus—to remind his fellow-countrymen of what, with more enterprise on the part of their leader, was within their reach. Nor could he himself be unconscious of the disappointment, of the saddened and depressed feelings, that haunt men who know they possess large energies, and are bound down to a sphere humble and contracted.[12] Such temptations, arising from the position and limits of his territory, must often have beset Abraham. If, however, he had yielded to them, and engaged in aggressive war upon his neighbours, it is almost certain that the people, who were now guarded by the severe conditions of their abode, would have descended on that same path of debasement down which these envied societies in his neighbourhood were now tending. Whether this consideration influenced him or not, it was an effort of principle, a struggle of fidelity to his vocation, which kept the patriarchal society on the grounds which it occupied to

[12] This impression is deepened when we bear in mind the extent of Abraham's acquaintance with the existing civilization and movements of the world. He was living in Ur (Mugheir), one of the great cities of ancient Babylonia (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 313, 447), when his summons came. Afterwards, at Haran, he was in direct line of communication between the western Japhetic communities and Nineveh and Babylon. His journey from Haran had brought him along another line of movement by Tadmor and Damascus, And he had visited Egypt, and seen the great wonders already existing in the Lower Empire (c. ii. p. 31). He was, therefore, personally familiar with the whole extent of human progress in his time.

the end of its existence. And in this effort and struggle its members were encouraged by emphatic renewals of the assurance, that larger national prosperity would in time be secured to them by abstinence from the aggressions to which they were prompted, and that by their faithful adherence to their calling they were securing advantages in which all mankind would hereafter share.

This moderation and self-control in not pressing into the neighbouring territories, which they had evidently force enough, as well as favourable opportunities, to subdue and to appropriate, marks a high tone of character and nobleness of feeling in the patriarchal encampment, not only in Abraham himself, but in others also associated with him. Mindfulness of their Church mission and calling, and faithfulness to it, were indicated by this self-restraint. It could not, of course, be borne by any who did not cordially sympathize with their leader's purposes and spirit of obedience; and of those who knelt with him in worship around Jehovah's altar, and who shared the testimony which was there, in those bare solitary pastures, alone in the whole world maintained, many failed to sympathize with him cordially, and some went rebelliously astray. So that, from time to time, his encampment was thinned by departures from it, either to the wilderness, or to the established settlements that were accessible in the vicinity. With Ishmael, and with "the sons whom Abraham sent away into the east country," others, the children of his old retainers—as afterwards Esau and those likeminded with him—were associated. Some would join the frequent caravans which traversed his territory from the eastern ports of the Red Sea, on to the settlements, especially those of Phœnicia,

in the north, or which went along the western border between Egypt and Palestine.[13] This would give them the means of re-uniting themselves with the great communities which they had left, if they were so disposed! While for those who desired a freer life, as wild roamers in the wilderness, it was always possible to join the tribes already occupying the desert spaces of the peninsula. In other words, for natures averse, on either side, from the severe form and method of the patriarchal life, its ground afforded an outlet, through which these foreign elements might be drained off and separated from the general mass and body of Abraham's associates.

Thus continually purged by the frequent departures of those who though amongst them were not of them, the patriarchal household was kept comparatively pure, and the integrity of its profession, and its fidelity to its mission, was unimpaired. They who remained in it apprehended with Abraham their position and calling as witnesses of truth, as revealers of the heavenly kingdom, and were willing along with him to make the efforts needful to carry out their charge and commission. Nor were they left without special assistance in those efforts. Besides the constant ministration of The Mediator among them, the destruction of the

[13] The main caravan routes lay between—(1) Egypt and the Philistine plain; (2) Egypt and Damascus, as in note on p. 12; (3) Egypt and Akabah; (4) Akabah and Philistia; (5) the Edomite country and Philistia; and probably (6) between the Egyptian mines of Sûrâbit el Khâdim and Palestine. All of these, except (3), would pass through the patriarch's territory. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the Philistines were already a mercantile community, and that there was intercourse between them and the Phœnicians already settled on the north coast. If this were so, it completed the patriarch's means of intercourse with the entire world, so far as it was inhabited at that time.

two depraved cities in their neighbourhood—close under their eyes, for as they looked beyond the eastern limits of their country Sodom and Gomorrah were full in view—this destruction protected them from an influx of corruption, deadly on account of its nearness, as it also manifested the omnipotent righteousness of the government under which their fidelity was maintained by them.

Against the vices which had brought on that sad catastrophe the patriarch had uttered an emphatic protest, not only in profession, but by the severe purity and high-mindedness which characterized all the society owning his allegiance. The maintenance of such an example was one part of his Church mission. And he was remarkably placed for its execution. His moral influence was diffused far and wide through the report of the caravans, which would contrast the honour and generosity of the patriarch's retainers with the inferior tone of all the other communities and settlements through which they passed. In the great Sheikh Abraham's encampments—if nowhere else—they were assured of courteous, honourable entertainment. And no less would high moral power be exerted by him among the communities of central Palestine. As a prince of God he dwelt, and moved, freely in the midst of them. And when the day came that he was to be laid beside his wife in that sepulchral cave, which, in severe adherence to his long purpose of abnegation, he had purchased, when he might have claimed, or seized it—the tall forms of the giant settlers of the place mingled in reverential sorrow with the company of mourners that had come in from the pasture-grounds upon the south to celebrate the patriarch's obsequies. For, in token of his widely-extended influence,

Ishmael and his wild troopers appeared on that occasion, to acknowledge the honourable chieftainship of the great man whose remains henceforth consecrated the mountain valley of Hebron as their most holy place.[14]

When the occasion ended, Ishmael, with the other sheikhs of the desert clans, returned to their encampments in the distant wilderness, and Isaac remained to pursue the same moderate, governed, and self-devoted course in which his father had faithfully guarded the heavenly deposit, the great world-treasure, that had been entrusted to him. The second patriarch's tranquil habits, and his temper devoid of enterprise, gave a security that his career would be fulfilled within the same limits, and in a copy of the same usages, which Abraham had observed. Beersheba, Gerar, and the vale of Mamre, are, accordingly, still the localities brought forward in his history. Wells, flocks and herds, closely-attached retainers, pacific intercourse with the desert tribes, friendly alliances with the chiefs among the early settlers —in short, his father's life, secluded, moderate, prosperous at the same time, and advantaged by the culture and civilization of the period[15]—this was the course of Isaac, as, like Abraham, he continued to the end of his days, "not receiving the promises," but patiently abiding amidst

[14] This reverence is still perpetuated in the name, El Khulil, the friend (*i. e.* of God), by which the present town is known amongst the Bedouins. Of all the "holy places," Hebron is the oldest, and has claimed more veneration than any other consecrated spot on the earth's surface. By the Jews it may well be regarded with more religious reverence even than Jerusalem, as it is more directly connected with the calling of their nation.

[15] For, as is suggested in note, p. 14, it is surely a great error to confound the patriarchs with the Bedouins, as they are now living in those parts. This is frequently done in consequence of the resemblance, in certain particulars, between the Arab and patriarchal life. But no one who has ever passed

the humble and narrow circumstances wherein he awaited their fulfilment.

Thus, the second stage in the patriarchal history of the Church passed forward in a faithful maintenance of its two-fold purpose. Now, however, it was in jeopardy: dangers assailed it; and the temptations of its position on either side were kindred with the disposition of the two men on whom the chieftaincy would devolve in the event of Isaac's death. For, still hovering near the encampment on the south and east, and in habits of necessary intercourse with it, were the free and lawless bands of the mere roving Bedouins, subsisting by the plunder of caravans and by the chase—wild, ungoverned, as they have ever been. Their habits had always accorded with the tastes of many in the patriarchal encampment; and these—headed by Esau as their representative—seemed willing to merge the chosen family among the mere desert clans: in which state and habits of life, its Church mission would, of course, have soon been utterly forgotten. As, on the other hand, the communities on the west offered unto the more thoughtful and scheming in the community, inducements to take up a position, and engage in pursuits, that would have implicated them in enterprises of aggrandizement, which were not less alien from the objects of their calling. The Philistine and Phœnician settlements in their neighbourhood, whose vessels were in view from some of their western hills, and again the caravans from Egypt and the farther East,

any time amidst the squalor of a Bedouin encampment, as we did in going from Jerusalem to Petra, or who has had experience of the cupidity of a modern sheikh, can feel that this is a true reflection of the patriarchal life as described in Scripture. The true parallel of the modern Bedouins was seen in the Amalekites of Abraham's days.

suggested mercantile adventures that would have been welcomed by that party in the community of which Jacob was the representative. If he and his brother, such as they then were, had succeeded to their inheritance in due course, the nature of the territory suggests the probability, or we may rather say the certainty, that the Hebrew community would have been split into two portions; one part, under Jacob, absorbed in the settled communities of Palestine, by taking up the occupation of merchant-travellers; while the other, retaining the old pasture-grounds, and holding them with a strong arm, had established itself as the first of the mere Bedouins of the peninsula.

Isaac's recovery, and his subsequently protracted life,[16] turned aside these dangers just when they were most imminent. Esau, become impatient of home restraints, went aside, with those like-minded, and established another community on the mountain valleys, amidst the range familiar to him, as he chased the gazelle and the wild boar among the broken passes leading into the Arabah;[17] while, at the same time, Jacob was being trained through the severe discipline which was needful to eradicate from him those propensities that would have interfered with his faithful guardianship of the great deposit when it came into his hands.

In comparison with the bare tame pastures of his paternal settlement, Esau deemed that he had made a good exchange in the grand and ample mountain country, from

[16] Isaac's recovery and protracted life, after what he looked upon as a mortal sickness, appears, from Gen. xxxv. 27–29, where his death is mentioned, as having occurred after Jacob's return from Mesopotamia.

[17] Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, note, pp. 161, 162 (1st Edit.)

which he expelled the Horites, or troglodyte inhabitants.[18] After passing the desert boundary, the soil was richer, and the country better adapted for defence. Moreover, he there commanded the long route which communicated, by way of the Red Sea, between Arabia and Egypt on the one side, and the Phœnician settlements and communities in the west of Syria on the other.

In all respects it was outwardly advantageous, as an exchange from his ancestral state of life, and especially in the possibilities which it opened of a settled permanent condition. This seemed impossible upon the patriarchal ground. Constant movement, to and fro, was necessary for the support of an encampment on those thin pastures. The erection of walled cities on that moorland territory, was only possible to those who could throw them forward as the advanced stations of a community which had its seat and centre in the fruitful provinces further to the north, or in the rich corn-lands of the plain upon the west. Constant vigilance, especially under the liability of famine visitation, was needful to maintain the ground;

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[18] Kalisch (in Gen. xxvii. 39) has strangely misrepresented the character of the mountain-valleys of Edom, in order, as it seems, to justify his translation of that verse. He says, "the region of Mount Seir and the deserted districts to the north and north-west of it, belong, perhaps, to the most desolate, sterile regions of the globe." This is true of some of the "districts" in question, *e. g.* of the Arabah, but certainly not of the mountain valleys of Edom above. They resemble the best of that part of the patriarchal territory which was included in the hill country south of the mountain plateau. On the east of the Seir range, between the mountains and the great desert, are fertile lands, which now support the inhabitants of several large villages, besides growing supplies for the great yearly caravan between Damascus and Mecca. (Rob. vol. ii. p. 154; Irby and Maugles, c. vii.) Besides, the position gave easy access to the rich country of El Belka, on which (Gen. xxxii.) Esau seems to have had right of transit and pasturage. See Ch. III.

and management and forbearance were also required, so as to avoid injurious assaults from the neighbouring communities.[19]

No improvement of the *status* of the patriarchal family was possible, so long as it was confined within its appointed limits, and while all sources of aggrandizement were cut off from it. These conditions were needful, in order that its Church mission might be fulfilled. When Jacob came to take the head of it, he had been disciplined and chastened into submission to this humble and monotonous allotment; though, like Abraham, he too could now compare its disadvantageous features with the luxurious provinces east of the Jordan, and with the fatness of the Shechem valley. In the secession of his Mesopotamian sons from his encampment, and their preference for the more advantageous territory in the north, we see another consequence of the character and peculiarities of the country, which have been so often adverted to. Men of energy, who knew what was lying in the world beyond their limits, could not have

[19] There are now standing on the wilderness section of the patriarchal territory the ruins of seven towns, of considerable extent, belonging to the Roman and early Christian period: viz. of Berein, Ebodah, (?) Rehoboth, Elusa, Beersheba, Thamara, and Moladah. (Dr. Stewart's sheikh told him of another city, two days' journey E. S. E. of Rehâibeh, called El Abdeh, where the houses are still standing, and fit to live in.) Robinson gives an account of all, except the first, which he did not visit. Our own impression was, that he somewhat exaggerates the extent of Rehoboth and Elusa, and that Beersheba was larger than he supposes. Here "he is careful and accurate, as usual, except in his account of the extensive ruins on the north bank of the watercourse. They appeared to us more important than he represents them, and we made out the foundations of a large and solidly built church."—J. The population of Elusa and Beersheba could not have been less than 5,000 each. The ruins at Berein, which Dr. Stewart suggests may be identified with Lahai-roi, and which Robinson did not visit, are as extensive as those at Rehoboth.

stayed themselves there without a purpose, and unless accompanied by a Presence that would compensate for all outward disadvantages. But, from the day that Jacob parted from his now powerful and wealthy brother at their father's sepulchre, That Presence had been his familiar associate, and into the grandeur of that purpose he had, at length, truly entered.[20]

In spirit he had perfectly become one with those who adhered to that covenant with Noah, which was the subject of the Church's witness in the world, and who had accepted it as the true account of the Divine character, and of man's position and relations. That was the testimony which Jacob held; and, holding it, he was assured that the true condition of things, the actual order of the universe, was more perfectly known and reflected in his encampment, than in any of the countries which lay above and beyond the hills, or across the seas and desert on either side of him. With his newly-acquired knowledge of the causes of the falsehoods and the evils that had risen up in other communities, he acquiesced in the contracted limits and moderate resources of the ground on which his lot was cast. All this he now saw was needful for the pure and faithful maintenance of this deposit, which, in its divine virtue, would at length overpower all the wrong and wickedness against which it was a protest. This was sure, though the consummation was, as yet, far off. And meanwhile Jacob knew, that, even then, he and his ancestors had not held in vain for two centuries their position on those moorlands, in those quiet vales. Conservative and remedial influences had issued from them, even through the

[20] Benson's *Hulsean Lectures for* 1822, pp. 342–353.

unworthy members of the society who, from time to time, had passed away from it. As, again, those who had tarried among them in journeying to and from the great mercantile stations, would be the means of conveying, far and wide, some intimations of the witness they were there maintaining.

Such anticipations of the future, whereof these tokens were before him, must have arisen and stirred in the old man's soul, when it was raised high into one of its prophetic moods. And they consoled and strengthened him in his loneliness, amidst his accumulated sorrow,—while he was carrying his burden patiently, refraining and controlling himself, until that memorable day when the tidings came that at once compensated him for all the anguish he had undergone, and which, as he believed, betokened the near fulfilment of those promises, his faith in which it had been such a struggle to maintain.

CHAPTER II.

GOSHEN AND THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

From the hill country, and open moorlands of the south of Palestine, we go down to the green valley of the Nile, and the broad alluvial plains through which, along its many branches, it flows into the Mediterranean. This was the settlement of the chosen family through the next two centuries of its history; and their guardianship there of the deposit entrusted to them, consecrated it, so that Egypt became one of the Church Lands of the Hebrews, and was hallowed as the abode of God. The details of that picturesque and interesting narrative which recounts the circumstances of their removal into the country, and of their settlement in it—when illustrated by its ruins, and sculptures, and opened tombs, and by its present condition —so vividly represent that second site and platform of the inspired history, that we may look on it almost as we look on the scenes and movements actually around us.

The position of their settlement is identified, by the description of it, with that wide-stretching, and in the upper part well-watered, plain, which lies between the Tanitic branch of the Nile, and the desert on the south and east.[1]

[1] The country did not, at all events, extend beyond these limits on the west. But, as it is impossible, neither "is it of value, to fix upon any one district on the east of the Nile, and to represent it as the Goshen of Genesis

This plain had been gradually raised by the deposits of the river, brought down through many centuries, and, while firm and hard enough for the occupation of a large community, it was, by its structure, of exuberant richness and fertility: in this respect, "the best of the land," as it was described. If it were surveyed from some point on the banks of the Tanitic channel, winding northwards through its course of nearly one hundred miles to the sea—then, one looking eastward from north to south would have seen a green and open prospect, covered over its entire extent by canals and dykes which fed numerous smaller channels, that were spread, as in a sparkling network, over the whole country. Beyond, the thick deep pastures were suddenly lost in the moving sands of the wilderness; while, southwards, the view was bounded by the eastern hills of the Nile valley, and nearer, by a desert region, with thin and scanty pasturage, which would remind the Hebrew occupants, as they led their flocks into it, of the inferior districts of their late settlement, just where that passed away into the open spaces of the wilderness. In most respects, however, the physical features of their new territory, its climate and productions, and its consequent habits of life, were in strongly contrasted opposition to those of the habitations from which they had removed.

There was an almost level surface now around them, in marked unlikeness to the broken, undulating aspect of their late abode. In the distance, hills were visible, such as they

. . . Nor, indeed, is it difficult to find more than one tract of land agreeing with the few certain criteria given by the inspired writer." The name (Sept. Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας) appears to denote generally that part of the Delta which bordered on the eastern desert, and on only one part of which, at first, the Hebrews entered into possession.

saw on their horizon in the South of Palestine, but nothing broke the level of the view immediately around them. Some of the elders would be reminded of their Mesopotamian settlement: the Nile would recall the Euphrates; but, in comparison with the thin and scanty soil of their recent settlement, how rich and deep was this! With what profusion its gifts were almost spontaneously lavished! How plentifully covered with luxuriant crops of wheat and rice, with thick and rank grass, and gigantic plants, and richly tufted reeds![2] How beautiful the orange groves,

[2] This description, of course, only applies to parts of the Goshen province of the Delta, when the Hebrews came into it. Under the circumstances of the lower empire (see note, p. 31) at this time, "nakedness" (Gen. xlii. 9) was a designation appropriate to considerable portions of the territory. In the absence then, as now, of the energy needful to keep it under cultivation—whether this arose from the smallness of the population, or its feebleness, or, more probably, from the need to employ a considerable force to protect the frontiers on the south against the native race—this part of the Delta was only partially cultivated, though the regions under cultivation would present the appearance described in the text. The country is such as to require a constant struggle to keep it in a productive state. That which Prokesch (quoted by Hengstenberg) says of Egypt generally, is specially applicable to this part of the Delta,—"There is no country that cannot better dispense with the arts of civilized life. By them it can be made a paradise, and without them a desert. During the centuries of Modern Greek, Arabian, Mameluke, and Turkish dominion, when, with few exceptions, nothing was done for the country, the inhabitants lived upon the inheritance which descended to them from the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Romans. It is no merit to them that desert and morass have not swallowed up all their arable land. It has decreased in quantity, as the public works of the ancients have gradually crumbled, until (more than) half its extent has gone." Some portions of it even now, as on the plain which occupies the site of the island Mycephoris, between two branches of the Pelusian canal, are exceedingly beautiful and productive. Villages are found surrounded by rich palm groves, in the vicinity of which is "a luxuriance of vegetation which makes the country appear like a European garden." Being what they were, the Hebrews, who brought with them large available experience from grounds that were desert-bounded, as this was, would soon cover the "nakedness" of this land, and make it such as we know it to have been

the dense plantations of sycamores and palms! Even in the thickly-wooded Shechem, the foliage was hardly more luxuriant, the fruit more luscious. And the Hebron gardens could not vie with those on the Nile banks, so carefully were these laid out, and so richly stocked with pomegranate and cassia, and broad-leaved banana, and with clustering vines. In vegetable growths, also, the richly prolific soil was most abundant. Then, further northward, in that direction where it thinned, giving place to the marshy surface, or to the crusted nitrous deposits, and as the lake border was approached—how productive were the fisheries! On the numerous islands of the lake there were open fertile spaces, still unoccupied, and large enough for the sustenance of numerous families, who would think the bare hill-slopes they had just left were well exchanged for ground that yielded them so abundantly for the most inconsiderable toil.[3] If they felt the summer heats enervating and oppressive, yet they had none of the severer climate vicissitudes of Palestine. Genial, even delicious weather, was enjoyed by them all through those winter months, which, on their late upland territory, they had found to be so severe. They who roamed over the desert spaces to the east and south would feel this most. In adventurous border warfare, as well as in the pasturages on their frequent wadys, the robuster men of the tribes

in those prosperous times, of which the numerous ruins, especially of the canals, scattered over the whole country, bear witness.

[3] Lake Menzaleh abounds with islands, which appear to have been inhabited from the earliest times, though I believe only Roman remains have been found on them. In the early Christian centuries they were as much the resort of hermits as the Thebaid, or Upper Egypt. Fishing-stations like those now at Matareeh, would naturally be established on them by the Hebrews.

found in those directions the means of a livelihood which was well adapted to their wilderness disposition. As, again, it well suited the Egyptians to encourage on the borders of the Hebrew settlement a body of such men, at once friendly and attached, and used also to the methods of that Bedouin warfare, to which the inhabitants of the Nile valley have always been exposed, by the predatory incursions of the tribes hovering upon it through its entire length.[4]

In this peculiarity of the Goshen territory we see an adaptation for these, the ruder and more adventurous spirits of the patriarchal family; as for those members of it who had been trained in the habits of Mesopotamian life, and who, at the time of their removal, were in the enjoyment of the fatness of Samaria, the western portions of the country, the banks of the rivers and canals, the rich meadows, and corn and garden lands of the Delta, were more suitable.

While such was the position of their retainers—here pasturing their flocks, or farming the ground, which gave them such rich results with such slender, inconsiderable toil, there resisting the forays of the tribes hovering upon their limits, and everywhere trafficking with their new

[4] In illustration of the service rendered by the Hebrews, as defenders of the north-eastern border of the country—the more needful, as soldiers would be required in large numbers to guard the southern frontier against the Theban kings—it may be mentioned that Herodotus, in his enumeration (ii. 165, 166) of the eighteen nomes, or cantons, which furnished the entire military force of Egypt—only names two levies in connexion with the Upper country. The remaining sixteen appear to have been raised and quartered in Lower Egypt, and eleven of the sixteen on the eastern side of it. The station of eleven-eighteenths of the whole military force, *i. e.* of the Calasiries, was on the same ground unto which, speaking generally, the name of Goshen may be applied.

compatriots for 'the Egyptian luxuries, which were so readily exchanged for the animal wealth in their possessions—while the dependants[5] of the seventy were thus employed, the heads of the tribes themselves, Joseph's brethren and their sons, had means of frequent intercourse with the higher classes, their brother's associates in the country. The barges sailing up and down the canals and rivers close by their villages, bore them towards Zoan, and Heliopolis, and Memphis. In those places they were in intercourse, on terms of high consideration, with the upper ranks, the members of the higher castes, the rulers and leaders of the people. Nor would such occasions of intercourse cease with Joseph's death. His sons inherited his station and distinctions: through Ephraim and Manasseh,

[5] The total number of Hebrew immigrants into Egypt must have been considerable, and difficulties have been raised, quite unaccountably, on the supposition that only the seventy immediate relatives of the chief went thither.—"If so, what became of the rest of the tribe? (Gen. xii. 5, 16; xiii. 1, 7, 8; xiv. 14; xxvi. 14; xxx. 43; xxxii. 5, 7, 16; xxxiv.; xxxvi. 7.) The story of the assault on the town of Shechem by Simeon and Levi manifestly supposes their having a force in obedience to them, since such a deed could not possibly have been executed by two men. And does not the narrative of their passage from Canaan, and of the allotment of a large and fertile tract of country to them, imply that it was the migration of the whole clan? 'Joseph said unto his brethren, and *unto his father's house*, I will go up and show Pharaoh, and say unto him, My brethren, *and my father's house* . . . are come unto me.' The mention of the seventy alone is nothing remarkable, since they were the aristocracy of the nation. Moreover, 'the seventy souls that were in Egypt,' are said to have been—not Hebrews—but—'*of the house of Jacob, and coming out of his loins.*' (Gen. xlvi. 27.) These expressions certainly show that there was a distinction between the actual relatives of the patriarch and his adherents. The same passage declares that there were others with them, viz. Jacob's sons' wives, who were not included among the seventy, but perhaps may have been in St. Stephen's number of seventy-five. Let us also remark, that Stephen speaks of these seventy-five as of *the kindred of Jacob.*"—Johnstone's *Israel in the World*, pp. 19, 20.

the people gained access to those opportunities of instruction and of civilized advancement, that were needful for the purposes of their settlement in Egypt. So that, in our conception of the state of the Hebrew people during the centuries of their Egyptian life, we must not only think of them as clustered together in village communities on the green spaces along the river banks, and on the wide-stretching meadows between the canals that flow out from it, or as tending their flocks on the desert pastures that are adjacent to the broad green plain—but as also occupying quarters in the great cities of the lower kingdom, in Memphis and On, in Pelusium and Zoan.

These cities had been improved under the then dominant race,[6] by more than two centuries of progress since the days of Abraham, though many of the great works, by which the country was distinguished, had already been finished in his time. If, during his visit to Egypt, he went towards Memphis, he saw the great dyke which Menes had constructed, and the wonderful cemeteries, with their mighty

[6] It is here assumed that the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties of the Hyk-shos, or Arab kings (Hyk, king ; Shos, Arab) were occupying Lower Egypt from a period earlier than Abraham's entrance into Canaan, unto the rise of "the new (not "another") king," who knew not Joseph. (See Appendix, Note A.) They were probably a Semitic people of the same race with the Phœnicians, who had come, along the Arabian coast, from an island in the Persian gulf, where they had established themselves in consequence of the tyranny of the Hamite colony, then occupying the plains of Babylon. If this account of the Hykshos be true, it explains their invasion of Lower Egypt and their expulsion into the southern provinces, of the rulers, kindred with the Hamite oppressors in Chaldea, whom they found reigning there. How far south their territory extended, is uncertain. Its boundary probably varied at different times according to the fortunes of the border warfare; but the Memphitic nome of the Heptanomis, and the whole of Lower Egypt, were always included in it.

tombs the Pyramids,[7] lying between him and the yellow range of the Lybian mountains on the west. On the smooth coating which then covered the outside of the Great Pyramid he read the inscription, which told at how great an expenditure of wealth and life, it had been raised, for the selfish exaltation of its builders. Already he found everything in Egypt on a more massive, solid, and colossal scale, than he had witnessed even in the great cities of Chaldea; and, as was said, the two centuries of undisturbed occupation of the then dominant race had given opportunity for great advancement. In the secluded state of the country, its wealth and resources of skill and strength, could only be employed in its own aggrandizement. And now, accordingly, Joseph saw temples, porticoes, and obelisks towering aloft over all the cities of the Delta, in spaces which, he knew, were vacant when his great ancestor was there. Massive, heavy splendour; grave mystery; pompous movement; industry; mirth, festivity, and suffering; all in busy animation, under the influence of that balmy, exhilarating climate, and all in contrast, as strong as can be imagined, to the secluded valleys and wilderness pastures of his native home—were around the youthful slave, as the Arab merchants carried him through the narrow crowded streets to the market

[7] In one of the upper cells above the King's Chamber in the Great Pyramid, Colonel Vyse discovered the name of Suphis, of the fourth dynasty. This is decisive as to the existence of the Great Pyramid when Abraham was in that country. Indeed, it must have been already old at the time of his visit. Herodotus (ii. 125) states that the inscription mentioned in the text, was still existing when he saw the Pyramid, and that it was read off to him by his interpreter. Though no traces of the inscription, or even of the outer coating, now remain, there is no reason to doubt Herodotus' account, since the names discovered by Colonel Vyse were written in the *cursive* hieroglyphics, which shows that writing had been long in use.

where he was to be exposed for sale. How strange, in comparison with the familiar sights of his father's encampment, and of the neighbouring towns, were the priests and officers of state, the royal chariots with their outriders and attendants, the mysterious inscriptions which he saw everywhere prominent above the great edifices of the city! And over all there was the shadow of one awe-inspiring Presence resting! Men felt an oppressive influence upon them in Memphis and Zoan, where Pharaoh kept his court, in absolute control of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. He was not only an absolute monarch, but the kinsman and assessor of the awful gods, besides, he was the representative of heaven, and of the divinities themselves, amongst mankind. It was indeed an arduous struggle to maintain that sense of the Divine Presence, that unwavering affiance in God, that consciousness of our position as redeemed men amongst His creatures, which constituted the precious deposit that was committed to Joseph in that place; and few objects of contemplation will come before us of deeper and of more suggestive interest than those which we witness, as we see him firmly holding through the years of his prison life those great realities of existence, those eternal heavenly truths, which, when we go outside his dungeon, and walk through the streets of the city, and join the temple processions and assemblages, we find obscured and perverted into forms of error that had become so deadly in their influence upon the nation's soul.

Even then there were carvings and paintings on the tombs around Memphis,[8] which still show us the aspect of

[8] The paintings on the tombs near the Pyramids, and at Beni Hassan, some few remains (perhaps) at Abydos or This, and the tablets in Wady

the cities, and the house interiors, such as they were when the Hebrews settled in the country and adopted as their own Egyptian usages of life. Beside the state buildings and temples, and the spacious and garden-encircled mansions of the wealthier citizens, there was seen, in marked and painful contrast, the mud-formed hovels of the abject masses of the people. Nor may we omit to remark the huge granaries, which were amongst the conspicuous objects in every town and village—indicating the fertility of Egypt[9], and serving, in part, for the repayment of the desert merchants and traders, such as the "company of Ishmaelites" which had carried Joseph into

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Maghâra, are our chief sources of information concerning the condition of society during the Hebrew occupation of Egypt. The tombs, the monuments, the sculptures, and paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, show the same condition of things, wrought up to a higher condition of culture and refinement. But sources of Egyptian illustration later down, as in the reports of Herodotus, and in the Ptolemaic buildings, must be used with great caution. The free admission of foreign influences from the time of Psammetichus cast another aspect over the country, which, until that period, retained—identical in the main, but increasingly refined—the forms which had been impressed on it in the earliest times.

[9] "Nature has not only given to the soil and climate of Egypt an uncommon aptitude for the production of crops of grain, but has placed it in the neighbourhood of countries to which the same advantage has been denied. . . To Egypt, therefore, the inhabitants of these countries naturally came when visited by famine, to supply themselves from its superabundant produce, which, not being perishable, might be stored up for many years. The long ranges of granaries (so often seen on the tomb paintings) were, no doubt, intended to receive more than one harvest."—Kenrick's *Egypt*, vol. i. 187. Many severe "famines in the land" are recorded, through failures in the usual inundations of the river. It is now known that the inundations are caused by the rains in Abyssinia, which, again, depend on the cloud supply from the Mediterranean. This is also the source of the rains in Syria; and hence famines in the two countries might occasionally, from the same cause, coincide. Macrizi, "who has written a volume on the famines of Egypt" (quoted by Hengstenberg), describes one which took place in that country in the year of the Hegira 444, which at the same time extended over Syria, and even to Baghdad.

his captivity. Within the houses, there were all the appliances of the highest civilization, of splendour, and elegance, that have hardly been surpassed. Graceful decorations, the means of luxurious convenience and enjoyment in every form, were seen in the festal halls, the domestic chambers, the storehouses, of the men of high station in the country, among whom we may imagine the upper member's of Joseph's family, his brethren and their immediate connections—who had not been wholly unused to such conditions of life in their Mesopotamian home—taking and maintaining their place through many generations.

Hence all the instruments of cultivated and refined life, the arts and sciences, and the applied learning of the Egyptians, which made them, even at this time, the most highly-civilized nation on the earth, would gradually make their way amongst the Hebrew people, whose now arising social ranks would, by the same influences, be confirmed. So that, as years and generations passed away during their stay in Goshen, the essential characteristics of a nation, its order and its intelligence, would be impressed on them; while their deep repugnance to the Egyptian institutions would, at the same time, ensure their compactness and their separation.

We might conclude this, from a consideration of the causes naturally at work in their position while they were in Egypt, and of the circumstances under which they had been removed there; and the conclusion is sustained, as it is also enlarged, if we here make use of our knowledge of their history after they left the country, and consider what is implied by their improved condition when their stay in Egypt ended, and they were on their way to the territory for which their circumstances there had been

preparing them.[10] How changed were the "princes of the congregation" from Jacob and his eleven sons! As, again, the wealth of the encampment, the appliances of personal and domestic luxury, the arms and implements, and especially the artistic skill of the Israelites, mark a social and home condition far above that of patriarchal times, and make it evident that a process of training and of education had been going forward in the midst of them! The mind of Egypt had been working on the Hebrew family; and, through their strenuous exercise of that faculty of acquisition which has ever marked their race, their industry, and their commerce with the people, had been followed by an immense increase of their possessions.

There was at this time abundant wealth in Egypt, lawfully accessible to energy and diligence, and the intellect of the nation was in the zenith of its power and attainments; for it was towards the close of the Hebrew occupation, or soon after, that those colossal and magnificent structures in Memphis and Thebes, which have been the wonder of all ages since, were executed. The mind, the resources of art, the wealth which they betoken, were, at all events, actually existing in the country at that time. Evidence is abundant that this, of all others, was the very period when the Egyptians were best qualified to accomplish the part assigned to them in the providential history of man—as the educators of an infant nation; its intellectual trainers,

[10] All the arts and appliances of highly-civilized life appear in the account of the materials used in the construction of the temple, and of the utensils employed in divine service. As, again, the offerings of the "princes of the congregation" denote an extreme degree of luxury and refinement, as well as considerable wealth. See Hengstenberg, Diss. iii. *Genuineness of the Pentateuch.*

during the process of its expansion from the family estate, to the attributes and dignity of one of the peoples of the earth. Their own culture and attainments were now equal to this high mission, and now also their resources were adequate to supply the capital of the rising state: their superfluous wealth, drawn from them by the legitimate gains and earnings of the Hebrews, was now sufficient for the establishment of Jacob's sons in that career as a nation, unto which they were appointed.[11]

This appointment had never been lost sight of by those purer, nobler spirits, who remembered the nature of that deposit, their faithful maintenance of which made Goshen one of the Church Lands, which, in other words, consecrated the Egyptian territory while they abode in it. We infer from Jacob's vision, his prophetic testimony respecting the latter days, when the shadows of death were gathering around him, that his exultation at the advance and prosperous condition of his family was mainly inspired by his assurance that it would be helpful—he cannot have conjectured how—in the accomplishment of that great hope with the conservation of which he had been entrusted. This—and not the alliance and incorporation with the Egyptian kingdom, or the latter only, as it was contributory to the former—was the reason of

[11] On the supposition that the Arab kings of Lower Egypt were Phœnicians, the circumstances of the Hebrews in Goshen were most favourable to their social advancement, in the earlier periods of their settlement. For they were in the very midst of all the influences flowing from the active commerce that would naturally be carried on between the new country and the Phœnician ports; and we know that the earlier years of the eighteenth dynasty, which coincided with the remainder of their stay, were those in which Egypt was in its most flourishing condition.

the old man's thankfulness and triumph when he ended his long career, and was gathered to his fathers.

And this impression, revived and strengthened by his last words, was deepened in the minds of his sons, especially in the mind of him who was the inheritor of Jacob's trust, by their procession, or expedition to his grave. In the lonely desert route, after they had left behind them, for a while, the bewildering, oppressive pomp of Egypt, its tyranny and its superstitions, they recalled the old man's words. That long funeral march solemnized them, and reawakened in their souls the high thoughts and aspirations they had cherished in the best days of their youth.[12] And they felt those influences even more deeply when they reached the sepulchral cave, which was far more venerable and sacred in their regards than the most gorgeous sepulchres of Memphis—and laid the embalmed corpse there, beside the remains of the chieftains of their race. They were again admonished on that memorable day, as their forefathers had been in Haran, and Bethel, and Moriah, of the purposes for which they had been chosen, of the blessings they were to convey to all the families of the earth, of their mission in the world. Higher aims and a nobler spirit marked them when they returned. And now that they themselves stood in the place of their

[12] The route taken by Jacob's funeral procession was evidently along the usual caravan road between the Delta and Hebron. Some have thought, from the expression "beyond Jordan" being applied to Atad, or Abel-Mizraim (that is, Mourning of the Egyptians), that they crossed the river. Indeed, Jerome (*Onomasticon*) locates Atad near Jericho, on that supposition. See Relandi *Palæstina*, 523. But compare Deut. iii. 25. The Egyptian attendants waited somewhere in the neighbourhood of Beersheba, while the Hebrews went alone through the winding passes up to the ancestral sepulchre at Hebron.

fathers, as representatives of the nation which had such signal and eminent, yet still mysterious, destinies attached to it—the Egyptian settlement was more truly than ever made sacred by their presence: more than ever, the deposit which was there conserved, hallowed the land, and separated it, by a Divine consecration, from all other regions upon the earth.

As the witnesses of Divine truth, and revealers of the Heavenly Order, they constituted the Church as it existed in that age; and so, though among the Egyptians, they were not of them. Nor were they ever likely to be merged and lost in the native community: the contrast, between them and their neighbours in the land, was too strong and deep. What the Hebrews individually and personally were, we know; and we know also the condition and spirit of their society. Now, both personally and socially, the men with whom they were living were unlike them almost as much as possible. Intellectually the Egyptians betrayed that vapid gaiety and thoughtlessness, ever changing for sad, hopeless depression, and alternating with moods gloomy, sombre, and malignant, which are native under such climates, where the atmosphere is light and balmy, where the sky glows with oppressive fervour at noon-day, and the nights are clear, and radiant with the light of stars hanging like big drops of gold in the deep, unfathomable blue. Over the masses of such a people, the mightier and profounder spirits of earlier generations had easily acquired that ruling superiority which was still indolently conceded to them, in return for physical enjoyments, and hours unsolicited by the anxious responsibilities of existence. All classes had lost the privileges of true

citizenship, its freedom and intelligence and self-respect; and the peasantry were in an utterly abject state. Both in the cities, and in the villages, they were helpless under the great king's behest and will. Their condition would strangely contrast itself with the noble brotherly freedom of the Hebrew family that had come among them. And their priest-king, surrounded by counsellors in his own image, with natures profound like his, and deeply versed also in his mysterious lore—how unlike the head of the chosen family, in his loving, fatherly superiority! There was little danger that the Hebrews would be tempted to exchange their patriarchal rule, their brotherly equality, their unconstrained and roaming freedom, for the condition —which even in its enjoyments was so degraded—of the wretched people who had relinquished their last token of freedom, when they gave up the freehold tenure of their lands,[13] and consented to hold them, in servile dependence upon their monarch, on payment of one-fifth of all their produce. And there was even less fear, for the early generations of the settlers, that they would be contaminated by the spactacle of that idol-worship, so odious, and so abhorrent to their religious instincts and traditions—upon which they looked in Memphis, and On, and Zoan. Moreover, large numbers of them were protected, all through the

[13] They parted with it permanently (under that dynasty), for Herodotus (ii. 109) speaks of the land as being in the absolute possession of the monarch; and the account in the Book of Genesis explains how this came to pass. On the supposition that the events described in it took place under the dynasty of the Arab kings, "the people," in the text, would denote the native Egyptians; and this would further explain the statement of Herodotus, that Sesostris, the great conqueror of the eighteenth dynasty, gave (or rather restored) to the people the ground which the usurpers had taken from them.

period of their settlement, by the distance of their position from the great cities, as well as by the habits of their life, and by the need, also, of constant vigilance against the predatory hordes of Ishmael that were habitually hovering on the borders of their encampment.

From these causes there was security for their continued *holiness*, for the permanence of that separation we have spoken of—in the case of the majority of the Hebrew immigrants. Still, some amount of amalgamation would necessarily go forward, and their position on the Egyptian territory, and the effects of the physical influences around them, would gradually separate into two classes the community which had hitherto occupied a common level, and on which common characteristics had been hitherto impressed.

For, speaking now of the masses of the people, obvious physical causes would separate them, in the course of a few generations, into two classes, perfectly distinct in their characters and forms of life. Those who were settled in the cities, or in the villages upon the river banks, who were farming the rich lands of Goshen, or working at some of the mechanical arts, or managing the estates of the wealthier proprietors, would, in time, become marked by the relaxed, if not feeble, character and habits necessarily acquired by those who are living, so occupied, under such a climate, upon such a soil. What the citizen is in comparison with the rover, the free son of the wilderness, they would be in relation to their compatriots who occupied the territory bordering on the desert, and who still retained there the usages of the patriarchal encampment, living in tents, and moving to and fro from one pasture-ground to another,

according to their needs. Influences would pass from one to another of these two classes; influences of civilization from the town-dwellers upon their ruder brethren of the wilderness; as these again would counteract the enervating influences that tended to reduce the strong Hebrew, with his large and robust form, to the physical inferiority of the native Egyptian.[14] Still, in the main, the two characteristic distinctions just named, would be impressed upon these classes. In the "princes of the congregation," the hereditary nobility, who moved freely amidst each, instances of both developments would be found. According to temperament and predilection, some of them would addict themselves to pursuits kindred with those of the citizens; others would mingle more pleasurably in the freer, wilder pursuits of their brethren in the encampment; while, as a body, they would thus serve in keeping united divisions of the people which might else have parted off from one another. In other words, we see distinct classes rising up side by side, and combined together in a third, which had in its members the distinctive characteristics of both of them. This classification does not coincide with another, which must also be made, of those who were faithful to their trust and deposit, and those who failed in this respect. That distinction depended on causes different from those just named: temptations to abandon their fidelity beset both classes; for, while those living in the peopled territory were, more or less, influenced by the fascinations of the national worship, those in the open desert spaces, on account of their coarser and ruder

[14] See note, p. 77.

pursuits, were liable to have all their spiritual aspirations crushed and quenched. By many in each order the worship of Jehovah, as significant of their faithfulness to their Divine calling, was solemnized: the altar was set up in the encampment, just as formerly in the patriarchal territory, as it was also in the cities hard by the great temples;—as, again, in both divisions of the Hebrew settlement, all service of the True God was often neglected and unknown.

Thus far the nature of the country, and our intimate knowledge of the condition of the Egyptian people then living in it, enable us to conceive with some clearness the outward condition under which the Church was witnessed in this period of its history. How it continued to occupy its ground during the national convulsion, after the mighty ancient race—whose settlements on the Upper Nile cast another shade on the state of the Hebrews which should not be forgotten,[15] expelled the usurpers, and recovered their supremacy in the great cities of the lower as of the upper country—we have no means of ascertaining. There, however, the descendants of Jacob still were; in Goshen, and in the upper provinces. But we now see them under

[15] On our supposition that the Hebrews were living in Egypt under the Arab kings, the first century of their occupation would coincide with the last century (of the 511, or 625 years) of the usurper's dynasty. This would be the period of that frontier warfare which was carried on against them by the allied forces of Thebes and Ethiopia, and which resulted in their expulsion. This circumstance will further illustrate the willingness of the reigning monarch to receive Joseph's countrymen as colonists, for so all his military force was available for the warfare he was obliged to carry forward on the south. Nor must we forget the presence at Xois, in the Delta itself, of a garrison allied with the powers in Upper Egypt, against which he had to guard.

other aspects and relations, and also in another proportion to the empire into which they had been incorporated. Before, they had been occupying, on nearly equal terms as regards numbers and power, a comparatively inconsiderable territory: now this had again become a single province in an empire, which stretched five hundred miles beyond the limit of their old settlements in the Nile Valley. This change in their proportion to the paramount state is the first feature in their new condition which should be observed; and it became more remarkable as the conquests of the new dynasty extended its dominions.[16]

Our perception of their state in Egypt, if it has been at all accurately realized, will, moreover, throw some light on the reasons of that oppressive policy which was now pursued towards them, if it will not explain their continued occupation of the land after their late allies had been expelled. In a great measure they commanded the coast, and they were keepers of the desert frontier. Their natural robustness and bravery, the large amount of wealth in their possession, and their strong ancestral claims to high consideration—must have made them the source of continual anxiety, even to the powerful monarchs who then ruled the destinies of Egypt. Their extermination—considering not only their numbers and power, but the ground which they occupied and their near alliance with one of the most powerful communities in the neighbouring peninsula—

[16] It is generally supposed that it was under Thothmes III., the fifth monarch of the eighteenth dynasty, that the Exodus occurred. At all events, it was not long after his reign, and during that career of foreign conquest which made Egypt so illustrious. The victories of the Pharaohs were now extended as far as the northern provinces of Mesopotamia, and over Arabia, Ethiopia, and the islands of the Mediterranean.

could not be meditated.[17] Nothing but a galling bondage, that would wear them gradually out, might be attempted; and this, in the first instance, would take chief effect on the masses of what might be called the town population, around and below Memphis, towards the sea. Tribute, which was required from them in labour, was probably the pretext under which they were sent out, in gangs, to toil in the "hard service of the field," and in the great building enterprises that were then going forward. Working naked in the quarries or brick-fields, or on the river banks at the shadoof, following the oxen over the shadeless fields, or, in long rows, monotonously threshing out the corn,[18] they were engaged in all forms of irksome, tedious, degrading toil, such as is imposed only where idolatry and despotism have begotten contempt for human souls. In time, the same service would also be required from

[17] This kindred of the Edomites with the Hebrews must have affected the policy of the restored monarchs towards this people. Considerable commercial intercourse was carried forward between Elah and Thebes by way of the port (now Cosseir) on the Red Sea. This would make the Edomite community well known to the Theban monarchs, and they would not recklessly incur the hostility of a people which had such powers of harassing their communications between Elah and Damascus, and thence with the settlements on the great rivers of Western Asia.

[18] "We came this afternoon on an extraordinary specimen of farm-labour, in the work of corn-threshing by a row of twenty-two naked men, who, armed with long staves, were beating out a heap of the grain, all striking together in concord with a tune sung by one of them. The sheikh of the village sat in front of the group, as taskmaster, smoking his pipe with great philosophy, as he looked on the strange group before him. . . . One of them, having a Jewish expression of countenance, reminded us that, probably, this was an exact picture of that 'hard service in the field,' in which the Israelites were employed; and the thoughts suggested by the cowed look of these humiliated men gave one some insight into his consciousness who went out 'to look on the burden of his brethren,' and some idea of his disappointment when he found they had lost all spirit under their humiliations."—J. Jan. 15th.

the sons of the desert, the hitherto unconstrained roamers of the wilderness. And we can hardly conceive any form of oppression more severe than that of taking men used to the free and bounding life of the open country, and fastening them down to the drudgery of field service on the river-banks, or through the burning plains on either side. No merciful relenting softened that harsh, oppressive cruelty: despotism, in its most inexorable forms, characterized the Egyptians at this period. Between the profound apprehension of their sages, and the general mind of their community, the images of false worship had now interposed the densest and gloomiest obstructions; and their consequent intimacy with those images, in their coarseness and horror, as, again, the barrenness of soul begotten by the profligacy which always attends on despotism and idolatry, originated increased contempt for human life, and issued forth, as such causes always do, in that tyrannical spirit under which the Hebrew population suffered. With what shame must the exempted chiefs and elders, or at least those whom Egyptian influences had not utterly contaminated and spoiled, have looked on the humiliations of their countrymen, toiling so ignominiously in the hard service of the field, or helping, in still more degrading servitude, to rear the edifices of tyranny and superstition! [19]

Even under these trying circumstances, however, they

[19] Exod. i. 11. These "store" or "treasure cities" must, from their position on the edge of the desert, have been built as fortresses. Comp. 2 Chr. viii. 5, 6. The Pyramids, which Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 9) says were built by the Israelites, are supposed to have been those at Dashoor and Sakkarah, a few miles south of Memphis, which are constructed of crude brick.—See "Extracts from Journal."

kept their deposit, and accomplished their purpose as "the salt of the earth and the light of the world," in hindering the masses around them from becoming utterly corrupt. That intimacy between their own guiding minds and the chiefs of the Egyptian state, which necessarily resulted from their position on the soil, exercised influences on the soul of the paramount nation which were afterwards traceable in those many agencies by which Egypt wrought on the nations of the West. The witness of the Hebrews to the brotherhood of men, amidst the oppression and cruelty under which they suffered, and of the loving fatherhood of God, amidst so many temptations to deny it, was part of the Church mission which they accomplished through their sufferings. Yet their own preservation and continued existence now demanded an interposition on their behalf. Thoroughly crushed, and then absorbed into the Egyptian race, they would shortly have perished and disappeared, if the time had not at length arrived to free and separate them, and to begin another stage of the fulfilment of the great destiny to which they had been called.

And yet another purpose had to be accomplished by their agency, another portion of the Church's witness had to be uttered, before they might leave the Egyptian territory. This was effected through, and by means of, the difficulties attending their removal. For this involved the withdrawal of a considerable amount of wealth from the country; it broke up many households with which the Hebrews had formed alliances; and, moreover, the departure of nearly one-third of the entire population of the country deprived the ruling powers of much effective labour, which had left their own people free for the

defence of the country along its exposed lines, and for the military expeditions which at this period were going forward. Their emancipation was therefore vehemently opposed; and this opposition gave occasion for an emphatic witness concerning Him whose character was obscured by the prevailing image-worship of Egypt, though His existence, as Supreme over all the deities of the Egyptian pantheon, had always been confessed.[20]

Accordingly nature, through all its departments, was now charged to affirm the identity of Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, with the Ruler of the whole heaven and earth.[21] Through the entire sphere of Egyptian life He wrought; and all that had served as the framework of the Church's visible existence, was now made articulate with the great message, whose proclamation was one of the purposes for which it had been instituted. All natural agencies were employed to testify against the cruel oppression unto which the Hebrews were subjected. Those objects which have been pictured as the circumstances through and amidst which they had declared the benignant character of God, and the fellowship of man in Him, now spoke aloud in confirmation of their testimony: the water, the deep-red soil, the atmosphere, the burning sky of Egypt, the insect, and animal, and the human life that dwelt in it,—were all used as a witness and repre-

[20] Herod. ii. 144. Plut. *De Isid. et Osir.* c. xxi.

[21] The miracles which preceded the exodus were not only connected with objects that were most sacred in the view of the Egyptians, but embraced the whole sphere of nature in the country. They showed that He who wrought them by His servant's agency, ruled the whole course of Egyptian being, in every department of it, and that His hand of power was upon every movement and proceeding in the midst of it.—For further remarks on this subject, see *Scripture Studies*, pp. 92, 93.

sentation of the Divine order of their being. And this will explain the spectacle which now, after our long stay in the Egyptian territory, we can realize, with some distinctness, as we behold the sudden gathering of the people from all parts of the thickly-peopled country to the place of one of their encampments on the outskirts of the desert. In their boats on the canals, and in hastily-formed caravans along the roads, some on camels and asses, others, the wealthier classes, in their chariots and palanquins—we see them crowding towards the place of rendezvous near the Egyptian sea, whole villages and large quarters of the cities being utterly deserted, as the gathering company made its way to one of the open spaces amidst the hills that close in the northern gulf.[22]

Nothing but an awful glimpse into the unseen world can explain the mighty stir and movement which we thus discern, as one-third of the population of the beautiful and green Nile valley is seen deliberately leaving it to pass into the desert spaces, which had lain over against them as a dread even from their youth, and which they had always

[22] See note, p. 53. The people were spread over the land to positions considerably south of their main settlement in Goshen, and some of them may have been located on those broad plains opposite Memphis, where there are still so many traditionary memorials of them. Raamses, identified with Heroopolis, was their rendezvous; and to this point the labourers on the above ground, and those toiling further to the south, may have gone through the Wady Ramlieh, direct east of Memphis, and then turned off north-east by Jebel Reibun (see map), or have still continued in an easterly direction by Wady Tawârik to the Red Sea. Or Jebel Reibun may have been the point of meeting, both for the companies in Goshen and those nearer Memphis. In the outset, and before the passage of the Red Sea, the separate companies must, at all events, have marched along different roads to their point of rendezvous; and hence may be reconciled traditions and arguments which fix on so many distinct paths as those which were taken by the emancipated captives.

associated with thoughts of privation and of dangerous enterprise. As, again, such a witness and revelation perfectly explain and vindicate the historical representation, that they took the adventurous step under the consciousness of advancing towards the fulfilment of a high destiny—as the called and chosen of the Lord of all!

CHAPTER III.

SINAI AND THE WILDERNESS OF PARAN.

THE scenes and localities of the Sacred History which have been described in the preceding chapters were occupied by the Hebrews through more than four centuries. In fact, nearly all the events recorded in one-fourth of the ancient annals of the Church were transacted on them. Here, on the contrary, our attention is detained for only forty years; though, as the transition period of the Hebrew history, they were the most memorable years in the entire course of it. Nearly the whole of this period was passed upon one portion only of the ground to be described in the present chapter. But as the routes which led the people to that position, and afterwards from it, were the scenes of the most eventful details, of determining crises, in the history, they must largely occupy our attention. Nor can we follow a better order than that of these details in our description: here the method of the narrative directly subserves the geographical and circumstantial delineation which is the main object of this volume.

The wilderness country across which we shall now accordingly follow the emancipated Hebrews may be regarded as the entrance on the second of that line of

desert sandy regions which stretch from the west coast of Africa as far as the centre of Hindostan.[1] It is connected by the seas which wash three of its sides, with each quarter of the ancient world. Only in a small portion of it, here and there at intervals, is it marked by the wild, hopeless sterility of the desert regions in the line of which it is situated. The larger part of the 18,000 miles which are comprised in its surface, is high table-land, sloping westward towards the Mediterranean. Its upper border, the long wide region where it approaches the hilly country of South Palestine, is that which has already been described as the patriarchal settlement and territory. One coming south and east from that region passes over upwards of 150 miles, through a region mainly to be described as wilderness, though never wholly bare of vegetation, or of unvaried level sameness, and containing many tracts of fertile, almost beautiful, territory; until on either side, east and south-west, he reaches the edge of the high ranges of mountains by which this part of the peninsula is supported and enclosed. Over them, on the east, he looks down into the long, terrific desert of the Arabah; and, further on, to the blue and hazy line of the Gulf of Akabah. On the other side the mountains, trifurcated where they bend from the southern direction, command

[1] We may trace the sea of sand, as Herodotus calls the desert, continuously from Cape Blanco, over an extent of 5,600 miles, to the farther side of the Indus. It includes the desert of Sahara; then, beyond the Nile valley, and the peninsula of Suez, the bare mountain plateau of Nedschd. Beyond this, again, after crossing the Mesopotamian rivers, we come on the barren wastes of Persia, the last of which is separated by the Indus from the desert of Moultan. See Humboldt's *Aspects of Nat.* p. 110. E. T.

the south-western belt of the peninsula bordering on the northern gulf of the Red Sea.

Massed and clustered on this border, and rising from its surface, which is about 1,000 feet lower than the highlands over which we have just passed, are the mountainous groups, with many waterless rivers or wadys passing among them—through and amongst which the route of the people lay in the first few months after their departure from Egypt. And now, deferring for the present the description of that highland territory, we will endeavour to delineate the features of this border, beginning with the northern end of it, where it passes into that part of the Delta upon which the Israelites had been settled during their stay in Egypt.

That which has been already said of the desert portion of that settlement will serve to represent the beginning of this border, for at least one day's journey towards the south. Or we may say it formed part of it, and must have been familiar to the Hebrew shepherds and hunters in their wanderings and adventures. Farther on, however, for three days after passing the wells in the spot where they emerged upon the Asian shore,[2] was one of the

[2] After attentively considering the various theories that have been formed respecting the "passage of the Red Sea," my own conclusion is, that it was made somewhere opposite the opening of the Wady Tawârik, where the sea is now about seven miles broad. This position perfectly satisfies all the conditions of this stupendous miracle, for such—judging from the impressions left by it (Josh. ii. 9, 10; Ps. cvi. 9)—it must have been, and something very different from passing over a ford, as it has sometimes been represented. Nothing, however, can be more futile than to judge of the circumstances of the miracle from the present appearance of the coast and the gulf: the shore line has changed; still more, the bed of the sea, which is plainly seen through the clear, translucent water, is covered with a jagged coral surface, over

most tedious and depressing stages of their journey through the peninsula. Here they had a glimpse of the arid desert regions, in the line of which the peninsula is situated. Sand-storms were of common occurrence; nor was there any water, though on the frequent mounds which they here met with, they found a considerable amount of vegetation, on which their flocks and herds found sufficient, if not abundant, pasture.[3] This "three days in the wilderness," even as far as the "Bitter Waters," soon and

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which at any point, it is inconceivable that any company can have passed. Changes must have occurred since the passage, which have obliterated all traces of the state and aspect of the scene of it at that time. "On our left (at the mouth of the Wady Tawârik) was 'Migdol' (Attâkah); before us 'the sea;' on our right, in the defiles between the ranges of Jebel Deraj, 'Pihahiroth' (openings of the caverns); and probably somewhere near here was 'Baal Zephon,' in the form of a temple dedicated to Typhon. . . . We ascended the foremost projection of Ras Atâkah. There we had the two conjectured scenes of the passage in view at once, and just underneath is the eight-fathom passage which Laborde speaks of. . . . It is true, as Stanley says, that 'the framework' of the miracle wrought here is not majestic, but it accords with the narrative, and perfectly satisfies all its conditions. . . . There is a ford, just above the hotel (at Suez), practicable at low water, and *at that time* we saw a dromedary crossing it; but in the deepest places the water, even then, came up to its belly. We made careful inquiries, but could not hear of any ford south of the town. Herein Robinson (i. 50) is unquestionably mistaken, as our Arabs, and others, assured us, with one consent, that they had never even heard of such a ford."—J., April 18, 19.

[3] "From Ayoun Mousa to Wady Sudr we had, fortunately, a northerly wind, or we should have been troubled with sand, as nearly all travellers say they are, in this part of the journey. We were surprised at the large amount of vegetation in this most unpromising part of the desert. For more than two miles our course lay through mounds, about nine feet high, which were almost covered with rich green tufts. . . . Next day we had disagreeable experience of a sand-storm, through which we saw a large flock of gazelles. We passed numerous mounds of the same character, and rested near a sanded-up fountain, which, Nassar said, is called Howara, and over which stood two luxuriant clumps of palms."—J.

very naturally exhausted the strength and spirits with which the people had started from their first encampment and landing-place. At Marah, however, they were encouraged by seeing the familiar palm; and soon, in a few hours more, they turned into a broad refreshing wady, with clear, sweet water flowing beneath the roots of its numerous trees. The high, massive promontory, just in front of them on the south, forbade their continued advance along the shore; nor would they be reluctant to ascend the broad and shady path, with its even rich pasturage, that lay before them.[4] Now, for two days, their journey lay in a wooded, and well-watered, and even romantic country. In most impressive contrast with the dreary flatness of Egypt, the mountain-scenery of the peninsula here burst on them, until, advancing along a broad pathway, as in a wide street, of which the house-doors and windows had been suddenly removed, they found themselves at its entrance upon that broad open space, stretching a mile and a half in front of them, which is identified as the place of their "encampment by the Red Sea."[5]

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[4] "Jebel Hummâm stood out darkly and boldly in the distance as we approached Ghurundel (Elim). There was a long brook of sweet water flowing downwards to the sea. Here we heard of another fountain, called El Marah. The sulphur-springs, which Robinson mentions, are about three hours from the mouth of this wady, which is richly filled all through with trees (including several groups of palms) and shrubs, and bears clear-enough traces of the violent passage of water through it."—J.

[5] Numb. xxxiii. 10. "Tayibeh is a far more remarkable wady than any description of it had prepared us for. Its square and lofty sides, and frequent rectangular turnings, make it look like a succession of long magnificent streets, of which the house-door and windows had been suddenly removed. Our sheikh called it his town. A green island, surrounded by tolerable water, rose up in the middle of it. . . . We counted thirteen different shades of colouring in the rock, which bore traces of copper ore,

Here, in this grand and beautiful scene, the masses of the ignoble and long-degraded people began to experience some of that influence of the scenery, so strongly contrasted as it was with the flat monotony of the Delta plains, which appears to have been one of the most important agencies in their mental culture and elevation.[6] This influence continued, surrounding and impressing them during their journey through their next stage from this station; but they now lost the refreshment, the shade and water, which for the last two days had supported them in their severe fatigues. In thus leading them forward, Moses disclosed his firmness, and the fidelity with which he discharged the office he had been called to undertake. He knew the country, the dangers of the pass by the double headland which was lying before them on the south, and then the sufferings they would encounter on the wide plain of Murkhâh, across which they must accomplish a shadeless march of twelve miles, on to the great rocks of the southern side of that weary land, where only, in that dreary, desolate region, they would find any shadow from

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and is stained with oxide of iron. Here, on the shore, we are encamped on the one *unquestioned* station of the Israelites. The mountains on the other side are very faint. The distance of the sea from the mouth of the wady is about one mile and a half."—J., March 23.

[6] One can hardly imagine a greater contrast in scenery than between the tame and dreary flats of the Delta and the magnificent mountain country through which the Hebrews passed after leaving Elim. Its influence in breaking up their Egyptian associations, and in raising and ennobling the crushed spirits of the people, must have been amongst the reasons which made this the "right way" (Ps. cvii. 7) for them. Every day in their journey, at this time, surprised and startled them by new wonders, until their feelings reached their climax under the grandly ascending and lofty height of Sinai itself.

the heat.[7] He led them on, however; and here, in this scene of special emergency, the hand of their Divine Guide was specially outstretched to supply them with those necessaries, which, on the two previous days, they found among the natural resources of the comparatively pleasant, refreshing country through which their road then had led them. When they emerged from this plain, they went forward through rugged and narrow passes, with high walls of dark, basaltic rock, towering over them on either side. Sometimes their road led them up through intricate, abrupt, and steep ascents, where they found no verdure, and only here and there, in the recesses of the rocky openings and passages, shrub-tufts and thin vegetation, which would hardly furnish their cattle with the scantiest supplies of nourishment. Somewhere, in this dreary and barren, and yet sternly sublime, region, Dophkah and Alush are situated; and, on a forced march, there are just two days' journeys intervening between their late "encampment by the Red Sea" and the position with which, as we shall see, Rephidim must be identified.

No mention is made by the historian of any special assistance afforded to them in this place; nor, in fact, notwithstanding its iron ruggedness and arid destitution, was any miraculous help needed by them at this stage of

[7] "From Tayibeh past Ras Zelima, our course took us, in doubling the Ras, through the sea, which here covers the rocks at high-water. It was not an easy passage. Then we came on El Murkhâh (the Wilderness of Sin). We saw no manna-bearing tarfa in any part of it. (Comp. Num. xvi.) No shade could be found, and the almost unbearable heat made us realize more vividly than we had done before the intense suffering of the journeying Hebrews in spaces of this kind. 'Iron sternness' just describes the aspect of the country at this point."—J., March 24.

their progress: for now, at length, they had reached the neighbourhood of large Egyptian settlements. Here they would meet caravans of traders carrying provisions to the workmen and settlers in the colony near the copper mines of Sûrâbît el Khâdim. Almost midway in their progress is Wady Maghârah, where they would see on tablets high up on the rocky faces of the mountain, and which were even then ancient, witnesses of the tyrannical superstition of the people from whom they had just separated. Within a few hours thence were the mines, having a considerable Egyptian population around them, where foraging parties, detached from the main body, could obtain supplies, that might also be abundantly furnished by the travelling caravans of traders and Bedouins, whom they could hardly fail to meet with in the neighbourhood of such an important settlement.[8]

When, however, they approached Rephidim, all those

[8] There is unquestionable evidence that this part of the desert was largely peopled. The mines of Sûrâbît el Khâdim; those of which Dr. Wilson discovered traces on Jebel Nasb (*Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. 187); the tablets and caves in Wady Maghârah;—all show that, before and after the exodus, there was a considerable settlement at this place. (In the Maghâra tablets we saw the cartouche of Suphis, the builder of the Great Pyramid; and on the stones at Sûrâbît el Khâdim there are those of kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.) The most distant of these places is within three hours (ten miles) of Wady Mokatteb, the chief inscriptions in which must, on any hypothesis, have been the work of residents in the valley, not of casual passers-by, since many of them are in positions which could only be reached by appliances and aids which mere travellers could not employ. Dr. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 59–62) conveys an erroneous impression on this point. Many of the inscriptions were high up, in positions which could only be reached by scaffolding of some kind. In two careful visits to Wady Maghâra I failed to discover the cave supported on pillars, of which Laborde (*Voyage*, p. 71) speaks; nor am I aware that any traveller except himself has named it. Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, pp. 87–89) accurately describes this part of the peninsula.

resources which had supplied their needs throughout their journey between this place and the Wilderness of Sin began to fail; and, where they were encamped under the rocks, which now rose high on either side of their road, "there was no water for the people to drink." The wells of Paran were yet nearly a day's march distant; and here, accordingly, in their need, a supply was miraculously furnished to them.[9]

In this place, as the memorial names, Massah (temptation) and Meribah (strife), left on it denoted, they failed in that trust which their recent experience should have taught and encouraged them to exercise. Their trials, however, were indeed severe. Their leader, whom they knew to be familiar with the country, had encouraged them in their toils and privations, after they left Elim and the encampment before the Red Sea, by the prospect of the wells, and palm-groves, and rich pastures of Paran—that beautiful oasis of the wilderness. And now, while still in the mountainous tract which opens on it, they found this rich garden territory jealously guarded by warlike tribes, against whom they had to make good their passage by force of arms. This, however, they effected: they "discomfited Amalek with the edge of the sword;" but instead of resting in his territory, as they might have expected, and as they desired, they passed through it, after a brief stay of, at most, a few days.[10]

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[9] Exod. xvii. 1–7. The name Horeb (dry place), given to the rocks here, has caused them to be confounded with the *range* farther east, of which Sinai is the principle *summit*.

[10] We here identify Rephidim (resting-place) with Wady Feirân, and suppose the people to have been at the entrance of the wady, about five

The beauty of the place, and its resources, would have naturally induced them to remain there, if they might have done so without fear of a fresh onset from the tribes, which had attacked them. Some of them also might have expected this, on account of the sacredness of the lofty, the sublimely ascending mountain, under the shadow of which they were encamped. How grandly, accustomed as they had been to the monotonous flatness of Egypt, must the lofty peaks of Serbal have risen up before them! Moreover, even then, they might have felt the associations of sacredness with which it has always been regarded by the tribes encamped around it, and which are probably long antecedent, in their origin, to the epoch of the Israelites' progress. Was it not, indeed, the very mount of God where Aaron met his brother? and did they not, under those awe-inspiring heights, confer together upon the

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hours (twelve miles) distant from the wells at the other end, when the miracle (Exod. xvii. 6) was wrought for them. This wady is the chief oasis of the south of the peninsula, and before it was abandoned by the Christian communities, who were here until the sixth century, it was always inhabited. On account of the sacredness of the place (see next note), and of its beauty and resources, Moses apparently intended that the people should rest in it until their organization was complete. It was then, as now, inhabited by the Bedouins. Since the Christian communities abandoned it, it has been the settlement of the Towerah. Besides the reason of the identification (of Feirân with the "resting-places" of this part of the journey), in the character of the wady, there is, as Dr. Stanley justly remarks, an additional ground for it, in the fact that, in the account of the battle of Rephidim, the word used is Gibeah (hill), whereas all the adjacent heights are called Horim (mountains). "Every one who has seen the valley of Feirân will at once recognize the propriety of the term (Gibeah), if applied to the rocky eminence which commands the palm-groves, and on which, in early Christian times, stood the church and palace of the bishops of Paran." This, however, implies that the people had reached the farther end of the wady before the battle took place.

great enterprise to which they were divinely summoned?[11] Supposing the place to have been thus sacred, the brothers might naturally desire to renew their meditations there, in company with the more devout and thoughtful of their associates, and to obtain for themselves, as well as for the people, the repose and refreshment to which the place invited them. There was no opportunity, however, for any lengthened pause. This was the very garden of the peninsula; and their stay there, as if to occupy it, would have brought on them all the scattered tribes of the Bedouins, and these probably would have come aided and reinforced by the Egyptians in the neighbourhood. Their occupation of the territory would have been a reason for war such as the Hebrews were not then prepared to encounter. On, therefore, they went, now through rock-scenery of naked, barren grandeur; no trees, no pasturage, or wells; nothing but abrupt and rugged eminences of chalk, and limestone, and granite—all in the most entire contrast with the recent site of the encampment; until, after a long day's march onwards, in a direct line through this cold, sterile desolation, they reached the open wady of Sebayeh, and there encamped—the high, pyramidal mass of Sinai

[11] Lepsius (*Letters*) and Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xiv. 733–735) give conclusive reasons for identifying Serbal with the "mountain of God" named in Exod. iii. 1, and iv. 27. We were more fortunate than Dr. Stanley in gaining testimony from Sheikh Zeddân as to the sacredness with which the Arabs regard it. He was very reluctant to speak upon the subject, but at length pointed out one of the northern spurs of the mountain, many hundred feet below the summit on which we were then standing, on which he said a sheep is sacrificed by the Arabs every year. The throat of the animal is cut, and it is then precipitated from the mountain by the slayer. We found traces of a ruined building at the top of the mountain, and *four* sets of Sinaitic inscriptions.—See "Extracts from Journal."

on the western side, lonely and stern, towering above them.[12]

Here they found water, and on the gentle slopes which surround the valley, their flocks and herds were supplied with pasturage. The manna, also, was still continued in daily supplies to them. In the neighbouring wadys opening on this ample ground, which furnished the central site of the encampment, and which was, doubtless, the place of the great assemblages of the people, there were large and abundant spaces for many families of the tribes whose stations were on the north-east and south-west sides of the congregation. Nor were they exposed, in any direction, to secret, sinister attacks from the wandering tribes around those parts, as they had been in the narrower valleys and passes through which they had been journeying; as, again, there was nothing in the nature of their station to awaken any jealousy against them while they occupied it. On the contrary, their presence here would rather be welcomed

[12] After leaving Feirân, their road opened into the Wady Es Sheikh; and the main body of the people, with their baggage and cattle, must have continued going on in this direction, which is now always taken by the heavy part of the traveller's caravan, while he himself, turning off to the south-west, goes across the plain of Seheb, and then up through the pass of Nukb Hâwy, into the heart of the mountains. This is the shortest road, and may have been taken by some of the chiefs of the people, who would then have gone through scenery "the magnificence of which, and the toil of getting through it (in a two-and-a-half hours' climb), have, after all that Robinson (i. 88) has said about it, taken us by surprise."—J. In the whole day's journey on either road, the scenery around and before the Israelites is correctly described in the text. All through Es Sheikh, and up to the foot of Nukb Hâwy, they would go through and over low hills, "lying between rocky mountains behind them and the cliffs of Sinai in their front, and forming, as it were, a low belt around the lofty central granite region" into which they were entering.

by their late adversaries, with whom they might now carry on negotiations, exchanging the solid wealth they had brought from Egypt for the supplies which the resources of the desert tribes enabled them to furnish to the encampment. Here, accordingly, they settled in front of the great mountain, which was visible from every point of the central ground, and conspicuous in its sublimity and altitude above all surrounding eminences, not one of them in its neighbourhood approaching, or even comparing with it, in grandeur.[13]

When they reached and established themselves upon this ground, fifty days had elapsed since their departure out of Egypt. From the time of their deliverance they had pressed on with few pauses: their journey had been almost a flight from the beginning. But now a review and disposition of their forces was needful: their resources must be investigated; order and discipline, and a settled plan of advance towards their appointed destination, were now essential. This could be deferred no longer, and the place seemed well adapted for the purpose: its extent and openness—the natural protections and ramparts around it—the influence of the scenery—and, again, the facilities of communication to which we have just adverted—made it eligible for the people's resting-place while their organization was going forward. Thus Moses may have thought and reasoned, yet unconscious of what would happen while they were there; for we have no reason to believe that

[13] For a fuller description of this wady (Sebâyeh), which, by a forced march, such as they would make under the circumstances, the Hebrews might reach in one day from Rephidim, and for the reasons of the identification of Jebel Mousa with Sinai, see Appendix B.

the proceedings, which are outstretched in their historical continuity before us in the narrative, were foreseen by him just as they occurred. What precisely was before him, he knew not when he entered on his great enterprise. He had followed from day to day the guidance which had led him thus far, as we have seen. And now, at all events, it was clear to him that a review and organization of the people was the next incumbent step, for the carrying out of which his knowledge of the character and resources of the peninsula would inform him that this locality was specially adapted.

Accordingly, as a provisional measure, he "chose him able men out of Israel, and made them heads over the people—rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."[14] And then, either for meditation or in obedience to a Divine summons, leaving the people thus arranged, "camped before the mount," he went up the winding, steep ascent, to the broad platform that stands midway before the topmost peak of Sinai. The wide open space is solitary, and enclosed from view on all sides; and, while he was abiding there, God called unto him. He went up to the topmost summit, and there he received afresh the pattern of the Church-life which they were summoned to exemplify. Moses again heard, and was required to communicate to them, the first prin-

[14] "This constitution of the tribes, with the subordinate degrees of sheikhs, recommended to Moses by Jethro, is the very same which still exists amongst those who are possibly his lineal descendants, the gentle race of the Towâra." —Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*). It could, however, have only been provisional: another division became necessary when the people lived in towns. Deut. xvi. 16.

ciples of their calling, in the words, "Ye shall be a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." [15]

They were now entering on the third stage of their Church history, when its first principle was thus again solemnly announced to them; and the stern, dread heights reverberated their acclamations when they heard it. But the larger number of them failed to enter into its inner meaning and intention, or to obtain even a glimpse of the severe requirements of which it was meant to be the source and the beginning. Indeed, some may have hailed it as the ground of licence and indulgence, and regarded it only as the guarantee of political advantage, since it claimed for them as their own place the identical level which had been exclusively arrogated to itself by the highest and most privileged class of the community from which they had just gone forth. It was therefore needful that their spirits should be solemnized by special influences, if they were to have any true view of the significance of the position to which they were now raised, and of the awfulness of the mission which was laid on them. And now, accordingly, in that dread seclusion, in that austere sanctuary of the world, they witnessed the most impressive manifestations of the Divine power and majesty.[16] On the lonely, towering height the fire of God

[15] It is a question whether the sacerdotal order in Egypt may be spoken of as a *caste* (Ampere, quoted by Kenrick, ii. 46); but, at all events, as the first class in the community, it had the largest privileges, and stood in the most responsible relations to the others. Nor can we doubt that the declaration, "Ye shall be a kingdom of priests," directed the minds of the people to that privileged and important body, especially as the tribe of Levi had not yet entered on the discharge of the functions assigned to it.

[16] Dr. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*), after quoting Sir F. Henniker's remark, "If I were to make a model of the end (extremity) of the world, it

blazed, and the trumpet-thunders of heaven pealed and were reverberated; the mountain rocked and shook; dark smoke covered like a mantle the clear blue sky. Then, while the hearts of the people were bowed beneath the awfulness of this visitation of their God, Moses, being himself in "exceeding fear," retired, and drew near unto the thick darkness, again ascending the steep path upwards to the great high place, that, in further solemn conference, he might look upon the "pattern" after which the life of the people, in manifestation of the heavenly order, should be fashioned.[17] He was accompanied in this retirement by the chief and most trusted associates of his great enterprise. They abode on the lower eminence, in view of the people. Joshua, his successor, went up higher with him, on to that platform, in sight of the loftiest peak, whence the Voice had called to him at his previous interview with the Most Sacred Presence. There Joshua remained; and Moses went up the remaining ascent alone, while the young man stood watching the ascending figure of his venerable guide, as he slowly went along the steep path which took him to the summit of that holy ground.[18]

Day followed day, but he returned not. Aaron and

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would be from the Valley of the Convent of Mount Sinai," truly says, "Here, beyond all other parts of the peninsula, is the adytum withdrawn, as if in the end of the world, from all the stir and confusion of earthly things."

[17] "So terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake."—Heb. xii. 21. "Moses was admonished of God when he was about to make the tabernacle: See, saith He, that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount."—Heb. viii. 5. Comp. Exod. xxv. 40; xxvi. 30; and xxvii. 8.

[18] After leaving Aaron with his sons and the elders on a lower stage of the ascent, Moses went up, accompanied by Joshua as his "minister," or attendant, to the plain from whence the last part of the ascent is made—now

his sons, and the seventy elders, went down again to the place of the encampment. But Joshua still remained under the trees on the higher level. There was shade and food within his reach while he waited for his master's coming, wondering why he should again tarry so long on that mysterious height. Meanwhile, the awfulness of the vision having passed away, those among the people disclosed their true character whose degradation was hopeless and irrecoverable. Moses would not return, they said, and without him the enterprise was desperate: no one but he had sufficient knowledge of the winding tracks of the peninsula, and of the passes in the huge massive barrier before them, which must be crossed on the way to their destination; and he only had that influence over the desert tribes which was needful for the prosecution of their journey.[19] By their clamours, and by the course which they forced on Aaron, these pests and troublers of the camp were known. But at this very crisis Moses came forward; an abrupt turn from the lower platform where he had rejoined Joshua, revealed in a moment what had taken place. Faithful watchers had been long straining their eyes in that direction, day after day, in the confident expection that he would reappear. The expiring faith of others, who had reluctantly given way in the late trial, was now revived, and the tide of public feeling was over-

by stairs hewn in the rocks—to the summit of the mountain. Joshua appears to have remained there, waiting for Moses until his return.—Exod. xxiv. 12, 13; and xxxii. 17.

[19] The long range of the Tih, stretching across the peninsula on the north, through which their way led up to the Paran highlands, was distinctly visible from many of the eminences around the site of their encampment.

whelmingly turned against the reprobate three thousand. They were destroyed. And now again, while the survivors carried them to their desert graves,[20] Moses left them for a second period of lengthened seclusion, in the midst of their mourning and bereavement. This, with their previous experience of his trustworthiness, prepared them to await his return patiently this time until, after forty days of intercession, and of conference with his Divine Guide, he came back with his detailed scheme of the polity and worship which were to be built on the foundation of that main primordial basis which he had already declared to them.

The ground of their calling, and the reason of their distinction amongst the people they had just left, had never, indeed, wholly been forgotten. But it was now again distinctly set before them; and their entire seclusion in that corner of the peninsula, amidst natural objects that were most elevating and quickening in their influence, enabled them to grasp its intention and its significance. There was a necessity, however, that the rules of life flowing from it should now be presented before them in more elaborate form and statement. Their changed, enlarged condition, and what may be called the sophistication of their minds consequent on their social progress, and their long subjection to Egyptian influences, demanded a corresponding enlargement and elaboration in the statement and disclosure of the verities that were to be maintained by them. This was also needful for their protection in the new position where they were about to be established. With this view, then,

[20] See note, p. 75.

Moses was instructed to recur to those simpler Egyptian forms which the process of time had corrupted and perverted from their original intention, for the groundwork of their ritual; while, for their polity, he was to use the social code of the Egyptians, so far as this continued to express the Divine will in the rules and organization of national, and family, and personal existence.[21]

This, accordingly, he did. Under Divine guidance he promulgated a scheme of worship and polity wherein these conditions were observed. Free and clear of all the idolatrous corruptions, and social oppressiveness and profligacy which degraded and polluted their life in the country they had just left, it yet conserved the primeval ordinances, though in Egyptian form. And the true meaning of those

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[21] Spenser (*De Leg. Hebr.*) and Hengstenberg (*Eg. and Books of Moses*) have traced out the correspondence, and in some cases the identity, between the Egyptian and Hebrew ritual, in even minute particulars; but they have done this with an incomplete view and purpose. The resemblance, indeed, is obvious: the most exact pictorial illustrations of the sacred utensils and ritual of the Mosaic worship are seen, *e. g.* on the walls of the Rameseium and of Medineet Haboo at Thebes, which, although of later date than Moses, express usages and forms of thought extant in his day, and familiar to him and his countrymen. Much of what was daily familiar to the Hebrews, during their settlement in Egypt, was reproduced in their ritual and usages; but, surely, conclusions from this fact, additional to those of the writers above named, may be obtained. Does not this application of Egyptian forms by Moses, in obedience to express command, show that the substance of them belonged to an older and divinely sanctioned ritual? Did not the original colonists of Egypt bring that ritual with them from the primeval settlement; and may it not even have been derived from that divinely authorized form of worship which was used in antediluvian times? This does not seem to be obscurely intimated by the mention of the cherubim in Gen. iii. 24, which may be identified with the hawk-headed human figure on the Nile monuments, and which were reproduced in the most holy place of the tabernacle.—See Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, part iv.; *Religions of Egypt and Medo-Persia.*

ordinances was perceived by the people. Their position was gradually freeing them from the liability to mingle superstitious thoughts with any objects that reminded them of the institutions of the land of their captivity; for, in place of the pyramids, and temples, and obelisks, which, alone of outward objects, had been impressively before them in Goshen, the huge granitic masses in the midst of which they now were, substituted another set of images in their minds; and through them they were now brought into more immediate contact with Him whom they acknowledged as the supreme Ruler of heaven and earth. This natural preparation, which could hardly have been effected in any other scene—certainly nowhere in that quarter of the earth—helped them to enter into the meaning of their new forms of religious service, as they could not otherwise have done. So that now they might be taught a pure theology, and spiritual and devout worship, even through the means of structures and instruments which were closely associated, by the habits of their whole life, with the Egyptian superstitions.

In preparing these structures and instruments, the large accumulation of their wealth was here available, and for many months their artists and skilled workmen resumed the labours of their craft. The encampment was busied with many of the occupations that had employed them in their house of bondage; detachments were sent to trade with the neighbouring tribes for beams of the acacia that grew around their settlements, and for skins of the wild animals which their hunters had captured. Some of the people would retrace their steps to the mining districts, which they had lately passed, and where they would

procure many needful materials for the new structures they were uprearing. Others, the more literary portion of the community, employed themselves in working out the legal organization they had just received, in establishing their new code, and superintending its applications in the corresponding arrangements of the community.[22]

These works—which were of such momentous import to mankind, seeing that in the polity of the Hebrews we have the principles of sound political life embodied, and that their worship was a testimony to the immortal order unto which all spiritual being should be conformed—were carried on through the fierce autumnal heats, and in the following winter through frost and snow, which must have been most trying to men who had heretofore known only the bland, voluptuous climate of the Nile.[23] At length, in the early spring of the year after they left Egypt, the tabernacle was set up, in sign and token that their organization as one of the kingdoms was completed. As they went

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[22] The coarser, heavier materials of the tabernacle, such as they had not brought with them from Egypt, were easily procured from the Egyptian settlements at the mines, from which they were only, at most, three days' journey distant. The acacia (shittim) wood abounded in the neighbourhood of the encampment; and the tachash, the skins of which were so largely used, is identified with some of the antelope species, which are now constantly met with in the peninsula, and which, it is said, are still known in Eastern Africa, under almost the same name.—*Kitto's Bib. Cyc.* vol. i. p. 277.

[23] "In winter the Upper Sinai is deeply covered with snow, which chokes up the passes, and often renders Jebel Mousa and St. Catherine inaccessible. Upon the whole the climate is so different from that of Egypt, that fruits are nearly two months later in ripening here than at Cairo."—*Phys. Hist. of Palest.* c. ii. Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, p. 150) says, "I think the last night we slept at Jebel Mousa was the coldest I ever experienced. . . . When the day appeared the ground was white with hoar frost."—"We found masses of ice on St. Catherine."—J., March 31.

towards the holy place, the smoke that daily ascended from the altar in front of it, rose in view of the sacred summit now so solemn and venerable in their regards. But, in a few days, they gazed on Mount Sinai for the last time; for they were commanded to resume their march, and, in long and now well-ordered line, they started afresh on a journey which, in another month at most, should have ended by their taking possession of the land which had been promised to them.

From the summits of hills in the neighbourhood of Sinai the whole course of the ground they had to traverse was plainly visible. Every winding and eminence upon it was distinctly seen, on to the broad belt of sand that lies at the foot of the supporting mountain-wall of the highlands of the peninsula.[24] They saw clearly, therefore, that, as they went over that bare and arid surface, some of the trials would be again encountered under which they had sunk in the three days while they were in Etham, and afterwards during their passage through the Wilderness of Sin. Still, the difficulties they actually experienced were greater even than they could have expected; and, indeed, had those three thousand who were

[24] From Jebel Katarina, in the neighbourhood of their encampment, the whole of the southern part of the peninsula would, just as we saw it, lie outspread as on a raised map before them. "Robinson gives correctly the bearings of the chief objects in view, of which I will only remark:—(1), the two gulfs are distinctly seen, with the hill ranges on either side of them; (2), Um Shomer, with the Tarfa range, were marked objects on the south-west of the mountain; (3), Tor, with Wady Hebrân leading to it, and the Jebel Nakûs just above, were more plainly seen than from Serbal; (4), Serbal itself, on one side, and Jebel Mousa on the other, were most distinct; (5), the country as far as El Tih, and the trifurcation eastwards of the mountain, as marked on Kieppert's map, were clearly visible." —J., March 30.

slain as the most factious of the host been yet among them, and had they still continued in their previous undisciplined, uninstructed state, they must have been overcome by those discouragements of the way which they now encountered. For now, after twelve months' rest, and refreshment in the Sinai vale, where they had found competent supplies for their cattle and for themselves, their paths lay amongst the most desolate and barren stages of the journey across the broad sandy region which separates the cluster of the Sinaitic hills from the great ranges of the Tih.[25] Here and there they would find sufficient, if not ample, pasturage for their flocks. In the most unlikely turns along their intricate pathway they would come on plots of desert vegetation, on garden-like spaces, that were covered with shrubs and herbage, and fertilized by the winter torrents, which would surprise them by their marvellous profusion, day after day, when the pause of their encampment was signalled. For themselves, however, there was no food. Here they could no longer procure the corn which they might easily have obtained from Egypt while they were at Sinai, since their wealth gave

[25] We have no distinct notices of the exact direction taken by the people in their march from Sinai. They went on some way northward, and they are shortly found at the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. They must therefore have crossed the Tih range, and they would naturally prefer the easier passes on the east. This makes it probable that they went on the route which is now usually taken by travellers from the Sinai Convent to Akabah; and Robinson identifies the Ain Huderah, in his line of march, with Hazeroth. Most travellers find this the most toilsome part of their journey in the peninsula; and this was our experience during the two days in which we went from Sinai to the pass El Mureikeh, which is the central pass upwards from the lower part of the peninsula to the highlands beyond the Tih.

them the means of purchasing it, and there were agents, easily found, who would convey it. Then, the pasturage which the flocks and herds obtained was so scanty as barely to supply them with milk for their infant children. The butter and cheese which they could procure from the wandering tribes in the valleys around Sinai, or make for themselves, could no longer be obtained; and they pined and fainted for stronger food than the manna, especially under the fatigue of crossing the stupendous pass over the mountain range which now was close before them.

What they should have done, at this time, was to press energetically forward; and then, in a few days, they would have had food and resources of all kinds on the ground south of the patriarchal settlement; where, in fact, they afterwards found it for upwards of thirty-eight years. But this effort they would not make. Here, accordingly, on three occasions in this stage of the journey, their failure of trust is again conspicuously noted, with one of the causes that occasioned it, in the lack of food. And here it is that we read how, in punishment for their sloth and ignoble weakness, the food they lusted after was miraculously furnished, in quantities inviting to excesses that slew the mightiest of them, and smote down the chosen men of Israel.[26]

In this manner they dug again for themselves graves of lust and of transgression. Those graves lie somewhere near the western side of the great Tîh range, which now, at length, taught and strengthened by their severe

[26] Num. xi. 31–35. Comp. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 82, 83; and Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 200.

discipline, the people girded themselves up to pass.[27] In respect of physical effort and enterprise, this was incomparably more difficult than anything they had undertaken. Along steep and rugged paths, upon the edge of deep ravines, and on narrow ledges by the sides of the stupendous hills, where the beasts moved on with difficulty in single file—they, at length, reached the head of the Elanitic Gulf; and there, under the palms of that beautiful oasis of the desert, where, the peninsula borders close on the vast Arabian wilderness, they refreshed themselves after their prodigious toil and excitement from the perils which they had just undergone, and made their preparations for the effort of the few remaining days, which took them on to Kadesh. Near the encampment they found mercantile stations; and here, too, their friendly relations with the Midianites in the neighbourhood procured for them some of the necessaries required in the prosecution of their journey.

It was in about eighteen months from the time when they started from Egypt that we next find them advancing up the broad sandy desert that stretches its terrific length from the head of the Elanitic Gulf to the Dead Sea, and settling, after about three days' journey northward, at their

[27] Dr. Stewart gives an interesting account of numerous cairns, or stone mounds which he found in this direction, two days' journey from the convent, and which, as he reports, are known among the Bedouins as Turbet el Yahóud, "the Graves of the Jews." Others also of the same kind, with the same name, were marked by him on his entrance into Wady Feirân (*Tent and Khan*, pp. 159, 160; p. 96). Such mounds would naturally be raised by the Hebrews, accustomed as they were to the Egyptian care of the dead, to protect the bodies of their fallen companions from the wild animals by which the desert graves would then, as now, have otherwise been spoiled.

encampment in Kadesh.[28] They were now thoroughly disciplined and organized, and ready for their final advance westwards, through the territory occupied by the patriarchal family, into the settlements of the people whom they were commanded to displace. Their station was at the foot of that range which extends, in confused and broken eminences, all along the western side of the long path they had just traversed. Looking upwards to those heights they were gazing on what had been the eastern boundary of the view from the patriarchal territory, and up and among them, over one after the other of the three stages of the ascent—they expected to advance, with an effort that would be quite inconsiderable after that which they had not long before made in ascending the mountain passes of the Tih. They would find water here, and vegetation, shrubs, and trees—the nubk, the acacia, probably the palm—in equal abundance with that which they had found sufficient, through all seasons of the year, in the neighbourhood of Sinai. With the Edomites, in the blue mountain-valleys which fronted them on the east, they were on friendly terms; and from them they could procure

[28] The strange notion that Petra was Kadesh, which Dr. Stanley sanctions, is plainly untenable on these two grounds, viz.: (1), that Kadesh was clearly distant from Mount Hor (Num. xxi. 13, 22; xxvii. 14); and (2), that at the time of the passage of the Hebrews, Petra was inhabited by the Edomites. Nor could it be as far west as Mr. Rowlands (Williams's *Holy City*, i. p. 466) suggests. Robinson (ii. 194) gives conclusive reasons for identifying it with Ain el Weibeh, where, however, we only found, in two visits to it, one fountain, and in that the water was very brackish and scanty. "Here, however, it was most precious, and we were glad to drink of it. . . . It was surrounded by a mass of verdure quite refreshing after the desolate waste we have just been passing, especially as we have just such another dreary prospect right before us."—J., May 4th.

corn sufficient for their needs. From this place, then, they sent up into the highland country an adventurous company of spies, or explorers, for the purpose of ascertaining the most practicable line of access into the promised territory; and, for forty days, they looked wistfully for the return of these messengers, for they were anxious to move out of the oppressive, stifling heat of the Arabah, on to the healthier as well as more abundant region which was there above them, and which they already regarded as their own possession.[29]

These were the circumstances, and this must have been the state of mind, in which they awaited the return of the commissioned twelve, who were deputed as their forerunners. Their alarm and disappointment, when these men brought back such a discouraging report, especially in respect of the prowess of the inhabitants, may be illustrated by their own superiority, in respect of personal strength, to the Egyptians. Such as they were in comparison with the slender, low-statured, and debilitated occupants of the Nile Valley, the Hebrews had expected to find themselves in relation to the possessors of the land, whom they could then have easily displaced. They had thought of an immediate conquest over races to whom they were as much superior as to their keepers in the house of bondage.[30]

[29] They were in the Arabah at the most trying period of the year, *i. e.* in September, as appears from the fact that the grapes had just ripened in Palestine. Their journey to this point from Sinai might have been accomplished by easy marches in eighteen days. But probably they rested for some time at Akabah, and hence five months were consumed with it.

[30] Judging from mummies, the figures of the ancient Egyptians were slight, and their stature averaged about 5½ feet. Pettigrew *On Mummies*, quoted in Kenrick's *Egypt*, vol i. p. 97. The contrast between them and the

And, moreover, they had imagined them as living in tent villages; they did not think of their "cities as walled," any more than of the men themselves "as sons of Anak." They were, therefore, naturally overcome by consternation and despair when the facts were laid before them. And Moses must have feared that his hopes were blighted, that all his toil had been misspent, for the people seemed utterly incapable of the belief that Jehovah could bring them against such obstacles and opponents into the land, and give it to them, as He had said. "Would it not be better," they now asked, "to return into Egypt?" And then was uttered the threatening which spurred them to that wild rush through the hill passes above them, which was so disastrously repulsed, and which compelled them to ascend in the only course now before them, through one of the gentler openings farther south, on to that wide and ample territory south of the patriarchal ground, where at length we reach the scene of their history during this stage of it, for here thirty-eight of the forty years of what is known as their wanderings were passed.[31]

We have already spoken of this as the region—lying in front of the lands of the patriarchs upon the south—

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robust descendants of the giant settlers in Hebron (Num. xiii. 28), would strike the people with the same impression that the traveller from Egypt, who comes into Palestine across the desert, now feels when he finds himself surrounded by the groups of stalwart men of Dhohireyeh.

[31] The pass Es Safeh, which lies above Ain el Weibeh, is here assumed to be the scene of the repulse which is described in Num. xiv. 40–45. All travellers describe it as most difficult. (Comp. Martineau's *Eas. Life*, iii. p. 42.) And such, in our ascent and descent, we found it.—It was by this road that the Egyptian army, under Ibrahim Pasha, entered Syria.—The order of the journey of the Israelites, followed in the text, is given in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. Append. p. 526.

which, being in general desolate and barren, flowed in on the wilderness-pastures of Abraham and his successors. It was not, however, barren and desolate over its whole surface. The vast and open territory was marked by frequent tracts of verdure and fruitfulness, where the long-practised agricultural skill of the Hebrews might be put into profitable activity. Even in the heart and centre of it, and under the languid and unskilful operations of the wandering tribes whom they dispossessed, they found corn and barley growing in considerable quantities; and the spaces covered with desert vegetation would be a continual surprise to them, as they moved over the surface of the country, between its mountain boundaries and the sandy desert on the west towards Egypt. They would carefully avoid settling for any time on this side of their new territory, both on account of its barrenness, and to escape contention with the armed companies moving to and fro between the land of their late captivity and Palestine. On this line they might, however, communicate with the caravans for purposes of merchandise; and as a granary, Egypt was within their reach. Probably, extensive communities were then occupying some of the oases of the country, where they frequently found scenes of exquisite beauty as well as abundant means of pasturage and sustenance. High mountains were in view from every part of it, and over its general surface there was an aspect of massive grandeur and desolate sublimity, that contrasted most favourably with the stations where their ancestors, the patriarchs, had settled.[32]

[32] We crossed this part of the peninsula by Nukhl and Beersheba. In addition to the notes (pp. 4, 6) describing the country north of Wady Jaifeh,

In its features and resources, and again in its relative position with respect to the adjacent kingdoms, the region was well adapted for the training of that generation which was first to enter on the place of the Hebrews as one amongst the nations of the earth. There was freedom for the masses from corrupting influences and from oppression, while the princes and elders had opportunities, by means of the caravans which passed on either side of them, to maintain the permanent advantages they had acquired. Their position, in fact, combined the advantages of both the previous positions of the people on the patriarchal territory and in Egypt. Amidst these circumstances, Moses saw another generation rising up, under the strengthening discipline of their new life, free from the ignoble features that were indelibly branded on their parents' soul, and under the purifying and elevating influence of the polity and worship that were now rigorously observed under his superintendence.[33] So he gradually

the following will help to convey some impressions of its appearance between Wady Jaîfeh and the Tih:—"Every step of our journey to-day (the second day after crossing the mountain) has shown how abundant water was at one time here. . . . Our course has almost entirely lain along the beds of ancient torrents. . . . We met with continuous vegetation. . . . The turfa was abundant, but it does not bear manna here. (April 6th.) Again came on extensive spaces covered with vegetation. Some acres, about a mile from Nukhl, are under field cultivation: in fact, pure desert, *i. e.* a sandy or stony surface, without vegetation, has hitherto been the exception. (April 10th.) Our camping-ground to-night is on the borders of a wady as fruitful and picturesque as Ghurundel or Feirân: grain is growing on it, and birds are singing; and one might imagine one's self at home, in the country, about the middle of May."—J.

[33] This was the only time in which the Mosaic legislation was carried into practical effect. More or less it was disregarded in all after periods of the national history, though it was always ideally present as the standard to which the religious and political estate of Israel should be conformed.—*Scrip. Studies*, p. 141.

learned to acquiesce in his trying disappointments, as year after year he saw the friends, who were his associates and helpers in the outset of his enterprise, passing away from him. During the celebration of each annual series of the tabernacle services the generation that had accompanied him from Egypt thinned and lessened, till he recognized only a few old men, as the survivors of the emancipated multitude, when they came past his dwelling with their offerings to the sacred place. Meanwhile, in the new generation succeeding them, he discerned a higher, a more valiant, and more trustful spirit. How diligently he trained this better disposition, and how earnestly he inspired and encouraged them by the memory of past mercies, by prospects of future glory, we may imagine; and our natural conjectures are confirmed by the narrative of the only two incidents[34] mentioned in that long period, which, except for them, would stand a blank in the sacred record, and beyond which we come upon the history of another generation.

For it was another generation that now came down, through one of the wadys in the west of the Arabah, from the high table-lands of Paran into the broad wilderness highway that lay outstretched, between the hills they were descending, and the purple mountains of Edom before them on the east. They could not have been ignorant of its sterility and arid desolation, for it was visible to them whenever they approached its mountain boundary on that

[34] Num. xv. 32, and xvi. Both these incidents mark the rigorous adherence to the law which was enforced by Moses during his own administration of it. In fact, this rigour appears to have been the occasion of the rebellion described in chap. xvi.

side of their wide territory. Yet here again the old rebellious, mistrustful spirit manifested itself, on the failure of the waters in their former encampment at Kadesh. The hopes of Moses, that he might yet see the success of the enterprise for which he had lived and toiled, were again discouraged; and he must also have been conscious of much anxiety on account of their purpose to make their way up the Ghor through the Edom provinces to the eastern side of Jordan. Their request to advance in that direction, however, was refused. The king of Edom naturally enough forbade the march of such a formidable host through his mountain territory, and past the neighbourhood of settlements and cities that were even then wealthy with the stores of the great commerce which was being carried forward by the land caravans across the Arabah desert, and by the shipping in the gulf of Elah. This refusal saved the Israelites from a temptation which Moses, not less than the king of Edom, must have dreaded, since it might have led them to stop short of the true goal of their movement and enterprise, and to settle themselves in the attractive country to which they might even suppose they could make out ancestral claims.[35] Under the king's prohibition, however, they were helpless; for an attempt to force a passage up those mountains, occupied and protected by hostile troops, would have been infatuation.

[35] The "high way" through which the Hebrews desired to pass, was no doubt the great Wady Ghuweir, on the eastern side of the Arabah, nearly opposite to Ain el Weibeh. They could not, of course, ascend the steep pass (2,000 feet high) in opposition to the armed force of Edom; and his opposition was natural enough, since if their request had been granted, their way would have led them close by Bozrah, the chief city of his kingdom. For though Petra was now inhabited, Bozrah, about 30 miles on the north of it, appears to have been the capital. Compare Isa. lxiii. 1.

We now, therefore, see them compelled, in one of the severest trials of their fortitude, to return on a southward march down the Arabah, with the purpose of taking the route bordering upon the great wilderness on the other side of the Seir mountains, that so they might reach the provinces on the east of the Jordan. This circuitous and dangerous path was, however, the only one open to them, and so they girded themselves up in mind and body to attempt it.

Miriam, the sister of Moses, was left behind in her desert-grave at Kadesh. And now, as they passed on in front of that double peak which towers, lonely and high, apart from the Seir range, the word came that Aaron, too, his brother, his last earthly support, was to be taken away from him. They went together into the tabernacle court, where they had joined in worship for so many years, for the last time. Then the three men, the two brothers and Eleazar, crossed over the space that separated them from the foot of the mountain, and the people wistfully followed them until they disappeared in the steep intricate ascent. They struggled upwards by the broken paths, through the chalky cliffs, slowly to the top, Moses, "whose natural strength was not abated," supporting Aaron as he went. And then, after one earnest look, beyond the desert underneath, over the billowy, mountainous expanse, and upon the ground where their last thirty-eight years were passed, the soul of the high priest passed within the veil. His body was reverently interred by his son and brother in its high rocky tomb. Then glancing eastwards at the suburbs of the Edomite city, Moses and Eleazar came down and joined the sorrowing multitude, and another

high priest officiated that evening at the sacrifice in the familiar garments of the old man whom they would see no more.[36]

On the following day they went forward upon the long journey of more than sixty miles which yet lay between them and the head of the eastern Red Sea gulf; for this heated, barren valley was not a scene to tarry in longer than absolutely needful. And now the solemn melancholy which had cast its shadow on the camp when they thought of him the venerable guide and teacher who had just left them, and of the mournful loneliness of the brother who yet remained, was deepened by the bereavement of many who could well sympathize just then with his overburdening sorrow. For at this time an attack

[36] Universal tradition among the Arabs and the description of Josephus (*Antiq.* iv. 4) identify Jebel Haroun with Mount Hor. The emphatic description of it (Num. xx. 25), הֹר הָהָר, does not refer to the height, for, as Robinson correctly remarks, the range on the east towers considerably above it, but rather to its prominence jutting forward into the plain, and to its remarkably shaped double summit. We had it in view from the time we reached the top of the pass, Es Safeh. "Though Jebel Haroun had been in sight all yesterday, we found it occupied five hours of laborious marching before we were at the foot of it. Two hours of this time were spent in ascending the pass Ez Rubay, which leads up from the plain into the higher range of hills that enclose Wady Mousa. It was a work of no slight difficulty to get our camels up those steep paths cut deep in the chalky cliffs. From time to time we had glorious views southwards, down the Arabah. . . . As soon as we reached the upper ground we determined to make the ascent of Jebel Haroun at once, as there was some fear lest the Fellaheen might afterwards prevent us. The ascent occupied about one hour. We found the arched vault near the summit, and, higher up, some stairs, which took us to the wely called Aaron's tomb, where there is a massive sarcophagus now standing. . . . The view from the top of the wely is grand, undoubtedly, but not to be compared with that from Serbal and Katarina. I was reminded of Miss Martineau's expression, 'billowy expanse of brown summits.' Eastwards we saw a few of the excavations in Wady Mousa, and the rocks enclosing it. But the main part of the city was out of sight."—J., May 5.

was made on them by one of the chieftains of the neighbourhood. The hostile force, which probably came from the highland communities they had been at enmity with on the late station in the Paran desert, severely harassed them from one of the numerous openings in the mountains on the right. Some of the people were taken prisoners, and there was mourning and wailing for those who had thus been carried into slavery—the slavery of the desert—far worse and more ignominious than that of Egypt.[37] But before them were the palm-groves of Elah, under whose green shades their ancestors had stopped and refreshed themselves thirty-eight years before, in a transient revival of their life beside the Nile. As soon as they arrived at that resting-place, they replenished their stores from the commercial depôts they found there, and from the encampments of the friendly Midianites; and then they ascended the winding mountain-path which led up to the higher grounds bordering on the great desert, that stretched far beyond them on the east, and they went along the already well-trodden route of the caravans which, for centuries past, had conveyed to Damascus and the north of Syria the merchandise of Egypt and of Ethiopia.

Their relations with Edom compelled them to keep a line of march on the very outskirts of the great sandy, shadeless waste, stretching far on to the Persian Gulf,

[37] "And the Canaanite which *dwelt in the south* [*i. e.* in the neighbourhood of the late Hebrew settlement] fought against Israel, and took some of them prisoners."—Num. xxi. 1. Upon the whole it seems most probable that this attack was made after the people left Mount Hor. From Josh. xii. 14, and Judg. i. 16, 17, it appears that the revenge of the Israelites for this attack, mentioned in verse 3 (Num. xxi.), was not taken until after their settlement in Canaan.

which was even more terrible than the desert highway they had just left beyond the mountains that now stood low, compared with their elevation as they had before been seen on the west.[38] So "the soul of the people" was here naturally "much discouraged because of the way." In truth, their circumstances at this time were more trying, and even apparently more desperate, than any their ancestors had ever encountered in their marchings. One week's earnest endeavour might, indeed, have carried them to the end of their embarrassment; and, as was afterwards shown, there were among them many who were capable of such an effort, and who earnestly expostulated with the feebler, the ignoble, and rebellious spirits who impeded them so much by their complaints. For failing in that effort they were severely punished. The "fiery serpents" of this region added new horrors to their sufferings from heat, and fatigue, and drought. This severe visitation, however, like former ones, purified the camp of its pests and troublers: for the efficacy of the cure provided for it was discriminative, so that it took effect only on those who were willing to go forward on their remaining path cordially and with valiant trust. For the rest, the faithless and the ignoble, they were left in their desert graves; and another mound of death

[38] For an account of the country lying between the Esh Shemah (or Seir mountains) and the eastern desert, see, for that part of the route north of Petra, Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pp. 395–440, and 656–662; Irby and Mangles' *Travels*, chaps. 7 and 8; and for the southern part, Laborde's *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*. The road of the people nearly coincided with the present Haj route from Damascus to Mecca, and the few small towns and villages situate in it now supply the pilgrim caravans, as the Edomites supplied the marching Hebrews; selling to them water and their field produce, as it was required.—Deut. ii. 6, 28, 29.

was raised in awful testimony and memorial of their guilty unfaithfulness in the vocation with which they had been called.[39]

In a very few days after this last visitation, they were on those same open downs melting away in the great desert, over which they had wished to make a direct march, when they requested a passage through the territories of the king of Edom. His country, which they passed on the east of it, reminded them of the best parts of the Paran uplands, whose familiar heights they could discern in some of the prospects that now opened before them on the west. There were in view the well-known hills, under whose shades the lives of all, save three of them, had been passed. The same aspect of the country was continued in the possessions of the friendly tribe of Moab, on the borders of whose territory they paused to refresh and recruit their forces. Here the gray hills on the other side of Jordan were distinctly visible, and just in front of them they could look on the eastern boundaries of the Land of the Patriarchs. They took up their position at the head of the valley which gives its name, Arnon, to the springs that come through a broad cleft in the north-east coast of the Dead Sea, having beyond them, on the other side of the wildly-beautiful and richly-wooded ravine, on the south of which they were encamped, a country even

[39] Herod. (ii. 75, iii. 108) gives an account of what he calls the "flying serpents" of Arabia, which remarkably agrees with the sacred narrative (Rawlins. *Herod.* ii. 124). Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 499) also reports the existence of numerous serpents in these same parts. Near Basra, Niebuhr found a venomous species of the flying, or rather darting serpent, which is identified with the שָׂרָף נָחָשׁ, of Num. xxi. 6.—See Col. Smith, art. "Serpents" in Kitto's *Bib. Cyc.*

more picturesque and fruitful than any they had seen since they left their resting-place at Akabah.

Here the third part of their history was ended. And their improved condition at the close of it manifested the Divine wisdom with which its circumstances had been chosen in order to fit them for their fulfilment of that higher part of their Church vocation, which now lay close before them in the future.

CHAPTER IV.

CENTRAL PALESTINE.

In this fourth period of the history on which we now enter, and which extends over a space of time as long as the three together which have been already reviewed, we find the people dwelling in a territory, narrow as to its extent, and well defined, but wholly unlike those occupied in the former periods, in respect of the varieties of climate and surface, and of resources that were contained in it. On the patriarchal station, in Egypt, and on the Paran uplands, one general character belonged to the whole locality. It was not so in this, the initial period of their national history. Here we may distinguish three distinct regions in the country which was held by them.

Taking these regions in the order in which they were successively occupied, and beginning, therefore, with that which lies on the east of the Jordan, we will survey the Hebrew territory between that river and the farther desert, on the outskirts of which the people had made their journey from the Red Sea. It extended northwards from the valley of the Arnon, on the south side of which we left them encamped in the last chapter, as far as the hills which lie around Mount Hermon. When they were first

encamped on this part of their inheritance, near its southern border, they do not seem to have meditated the conquest of it.[1] Their design appears to have been simply to march through it, till they came to one of the passes, through which they could descend into the valley of the Jordan. With this purpose they sent to the chief of the kingdom or province on the north of their encampment, to ask of him a free passage through his territory. He, not unnaturally, refused them. But now, on those open spaces, they could venture a battle, which it would have been madness to risk with the Edomite mountaineers when they returned a similar refusal. The Israelites accordingly prepared to force their passage, and their success in the endeavour gave them possession of the rich estates beyond the Arnon. This at once encouraged them to claim possession, in "this first stage of the conquest," of the Gilead and Bashan provinces, still farther north, whose wealth and beauty grew on them as they advanced. And here, indeed, on this broad rich territory, they might well have been contented to remain. It was amply sufficient for their numbers, and was equal to the highest expectations which they had formed in consequence of the promises that had been made to them. They would learn from Joshua and Caleb that it surpassed all except a small portion of the country, on the other side, amongst those gray barren-

[1] From Num. xxxii. compared with Deut. iii. 18–20, it appears that the Hebrews had not at this time meditated a settlement on the east of the Jordan, and this conclusion is strengthened by the direction which the men took who were sent to explore the land. It is true that the Euphrates was declared (Exod. xxiii. 31) to be their eastern border, as it had been in the promise to Abraham; but they had no intention at present to attempt a conquest over these wide limits; or by "the river" they may have understood the Jordan.

looking hills. Rich deep soil, dense forests, abundant streams and pasturages, would make them feel it was, indeed, a good land into which they had been brought. Far surpassing anything that they had seen, even in the most envied portion of the Edomite provinces which they had so coveted in their recent journeyings, it surpassed no less the traditions of Egyptian abundance which had been handed down to them.[2] It was, however, unprotected by any natural defences, and could only be held by the largest and most powerful tribes. On the east and north they were exposed to assaults, with purposes of war and plunder, from the people they had expelled, and from the mighty community which was then in possession of the Damascus plain. Under these circumstances they could at first only hold it as nomadic occupants in tents and movable villages, and in habits of life as warrior shepherds, that would enable them

[2] This country had been occupied, even in Abraham's time, by the most powerful races in Syria. (Deut. ii. 10, 11, 20, 21.) Such men would naturally be found in occupation of the best part of the "Promised Land," and of this, in relation to the western portion of the country, all travellers so agree to speak, that Dr. Stanley well sums up their testimony by saying, that Eastern is in relation to Western Palestine as Devonshire is to Cornwall. South of the Jabbok (Zurka) these giant races had entirely disappeared, and their country was now occupied by the compatriots of the highland communities on the west. But northward, in the rocky fastnesses of Bashan, in Argob (the Trachonitis of the Greeks), some of these giants were yet remaining. And what manner of men they were whom the Hebrews there dispossessed, we have only lately ascertained with any clearness. (See Appendix C.) For the eastern regions of the Hauran, as far as Salchah, Mr. Porter (*Damasc.* vol. ii.) is the best authority; and an interesting and full account of the western district will be found in Dr. Thomson's *Land and the Book*. Seetzen, Burckhardt, and Lord Lindsay, still remain our best authorities for the south, as far as the Edomite territory. The beautiful and extensive remains of the Roman colonies of this country still indicate its vast resources.

to retain by arms the estates of which their conquest had given them possession.

From this country there is access down many steep, broken descents, into the valley of the Jordan, which lies more than 2,000 feet below the general level of this upland region.[3] The difference between the upper and lower ground in respect of soil and climate is as great as can be imagined. Both in aspect and temperature, and in products, the valley is tropical in character, so that the Hebrews passed as if into another zone, when they came down into it. In its southern extremity, where it opens on the gloomy, mist-covered waters of the Asphaltic lake, it is not less than twelve miles in breadth. There, open and level on all sides, it forms a space on which many armies might be encamped. Over its whole extent it was lined and striped by thick belts of verdure in its numerous groves of acacia, and nubk, and of palms.[4] The square,

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[3] Wady Hesban, nearly opposite Jericho, is the pass down which, on a descent of 3,000 feet, the Hebrews probably went into the "meadow of the acacias" (Abel Shittim), where they were encamped before crossing the river. This pass is broken and irregular, but not more so than those opening into the Arabah they were familiar with, especially that (Wady Ithm) by which they "compassed the land of Edom" from the Red Sea. Here the plain or meadow into which it brought them, upon the east of the river, is not less than five miles in width.

[4] The deep crevasse of the Jordan valley is nowhere better described than in Ritter's *Lecture on the Jordan*, J. S. L. vol. vii. The general direction of the valley itself for the sixty miles between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is tolerably straight; but deep in its very bottom the river winds—it has been said that it "wriggles"—along, like a gigantic serpent. The ground descends steeply all the way to the southern opening of the valley at the head of the Dead Sea, and its depth and closeness, as well as the reflection from the heated rocks on either side, give a tropical character to the climate. This temperature, and the water pouring down the

monotonous range of hills that support the eastern highlands, rise up on that side for nearly a hundred miles; and on the other are the gray parched hills of Ephraim and Judæa, broken and irregular, and of much smaller altitude. The Israelites had never looked in one view on such an ample space, so clothed in what would seem to them boundless profusion of luxuriant vegetation; and then there was the rapid stream, flowing deep in its low channel through the thickly-clustered trees, under whose cool shades they could stay and rest in voluptuous indulgence. The aged leaders would think less of the Jordan when they remembered the broad waters of the Nile and the fatness of the Egyptian soil: but for the multitudes this was the first river they had seen; and not even in the fertile and beautiful region above them, from whence they had descended, was there more exuberant abundance, especially at the season when they came into the valley, which was the full harvest-time, when it was covered with the richest crops, and when the trees were thick with the blossoming promise of their luscious fruit. The depth of the valley, and the heights on either side reflecting the sun's rays, made the climate hot and relaxing, especially at the season when they encamped in it. But this was a small evil in comparison with their late privations, and they could bear it the more easily, on account of the ample shade which they found in the acacia grove where they were stationed.

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passes on either side, fill it with numerous spots of verdure and fertility, though its general character is bare and desolate. There is always rich vegetation on the river's bank, throughout its whole course. Near the head of the Dead Sea the valley expands to the breadth of at least twelve miles; and here, where the Hebrews came on it, there is, as I heard remarked upon the spot, "room for all the armies of the world to lie encamped."

The country on the west, to which we now advance in our description, is of lower altitude than the uplands on the other side, and is more irregular in its conformation.[5] From the south it ascends from the patriarchal territory, a clustered mass, in rectangular form, of bare gray hills, and extends northwards for about sixty miles, along the shores of the asphaltic lake and of the broad valley of the Jordan, from whence there are many paths leading up to it, all of them, however, being steep and rugged, and often perilous, and even terrific in their aspect. When the centre of this highland surface is reached, it is found in an extreme degree bare and tame, compared with the rich woodland country on the other side: its stony hills are but thinly covered on their sides with unkindly soil, and there are only few trees scattered here and there on the austere landscape. But from south to north it is full of verdurous nooks, as around Hebron, and, on the north, in the plain of Moreh, where Abraham, smitten by the beauty of the scene, first tarried in the land. In that and the adjacent valleys, as in the recesses and winding passes of the southern hills, are found some of the richest and most attractive portions of the country. There was no river, indeed, flowing amidst them; nor even any of the brooks that sparkled in and refreshed the Hauran

[5] According to Symonds and Russeger, the level of the Hauran plain is 800 feet above the highest summit of Carmel. The summit of Jebel Jilad (Mount Gilead) is twice the height of Mount Zion. "The mountains to the east of the Dead Sea, of which those to the south-west of Hesban (Heshbon), Jebel Attarus, and Jebel Shîhân, are the most prominent, have not yet been measured. They seem, however, to reach a higher altitude than the mountains on the west, including even the high dorsal ridge of Judea."—Van de Velde, *Mem. on Map*, p. 187.

plains on the other side; but there were numerous springs: there were thick groves, too, and pasturage, and a fruitful soil. Fig and olive trees and vines were there: the acacia and the terebinth, and wide fields of corn.[6] "The land was blessed for the precious things of heaven, and for the precious things of the earth, and the fulness thereof." Beyond the hill country the wide Esdraelon plain separated them from a similar region still farther north; and if they moved westward, they again descended over gradually lessening hills, into the maritime plain occupied by the Philistines, which was green with corn-fields and pasture-grounds, and dotted here and there with numerous towns and villages, up to the walls of some of which the sea bore the vessels in which that people carried on their trade with the neighbouring Phœnicians.

These regions, so diversified in their physical character and resources, made up the entire territory upon whose surface the national history of Israel, in its first period, was

[6] When the Hebrews came on this side of the country, the first direction of their march was northwards, and then they entered at once on the richest portions of the country, in "the fatness of Samaria." "Here (just beyond Bethel) the bleak and rocky aspect began to disappear, and to be replaced by richer and richer signs of cultivation and rural wealth. Fields and gardens, filled out with abundant crops, were now around us on all sides. We went on in perfect amazement at the change, and this not only in the fertility, but in the picturesqueness of the country, which seemed quite crowded by verdure and abundance, till we came to the valley which opens circularly on the right of the road, in which Shiloh stood . . . and then through richly fertile and cultivated land, down a long descent to the valley of Libonah . . . Traces of ruins met us every five minutes along the road. The plain of El Muknah, at the end of which is the valley of Shechem (of which no words of mine can describe the loveliness), is fourteen miles long, and on an average one and three-quarters broad. It is covered with thick crops of grain from end to end. In the richest parts of our own country I have never met with such signs of agricultural prosperity."—J., May 15, 16.

transacted. Many heights command a view of it, in all its three departments, if not in its whole extent. The spectator, standing upon one of the frequent summits of the Moab range, just above the south-eastern portion of the Jordan valley, could see the country in its length and breadth; and, indeed, beyond, he might descry regions which were not included in the actual possession of the Israelites until a much later period.[7] On one of those heights we descry the weird figure of the Mesopotamian soothsayer, looking down on the long embattled tents, in their "embannered lines," of the people in the acacia groves below; and close by were the Moabitish chieftains, eagerly watching for the withering scowl and fiendish imprecation that might blast and ruin them. From thence he gazed afar on the surrounding communities, on the rocky dwellings of the Kenites, and on the tents of Amalek, and beyond on distant nations yet unborn, amidst the isles of the sea, which he knew lay far beyond the farthest range of his vision, on the west.[8] Then, from that high contemplation, he came down to frame allurements for the destruction of the people, to which the soft, enervating influence of that heated

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[7] The mountains of Abarim are identified with a range about two miles south-west of the ruins of Hesban. Here "there is a peak which commands the whole Jordan valley, from the base of the Moab mountains to Jericho, and also the Dead Sea." (Porter's *Syria*, p. 299.) On one of these summits Balaam stood, and from another, dedicated to the heathen Nebo, Jehovah showed his servant Moses "all the land unto Dan," on the north; and "unto the utmost sea" on the west; and on the south, "the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar." There are no palms now in the plains of Jericho; but Seetzen found them in abundance in his adventurous journey along the east shore of the Dead Sea.

[8] Few readers of Dr. Stanley's book need be reminded of the graphic passage in which this view of Balaam is described.

place prepared them to submit too readily. This was another trial for their aged leader, and it was his last, as he, too, "went up from the plains of Moab," and ascended "the hill," and thence looked over the prospect which Balaam, in another spirit, had just scanned. Northwards he surveyed the forests, and pasture-grounds, and corn-fields of Gilead; then—beyond the winding stream, by which, in his view, the eastern and western provinces were intersected—he saw even as far as the towering Hermon, that rose above the settlements of Dan, for his undimmed eye was preternaturally strengthened for its last vision. The brown hills of Manasseh and Naphtali, with the wide plain between; and nearer, the gray, bleak summits of Ephraim and Judah, even as far as the great sea—he beheld them all; and then, down below him, over the tents of the people for whom he had spent his life, he looked. And then . . . the veil of the flesh dropped down before him; and he saw in a far higher vision all for which he had so long toiled, and striven, and endured. His friends, unconscious of their loss, waited anxiously for him; but he did not return. And when they climbed those lonely heights to search for him, they found him not. They searched long and earnestly; and those who followed them have often searched, "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day."[9]

[9] There is a high promontory on the north-west of the Dead Sea, called Nebi Mousa, on which a small mosque is built over the grave of Moses, as the Mahommedans affirm. Underneath is a râs, or cape, of the sea called Feshkah, and, recognizing Pisgah in this word, De Saulcey (*Voyage*, ii. 176) endorses the Mahommedan tradition. But the sacred narrative clearly places Nebo on the east side of the river; and Jerome, who was familiar with this neighbourhood, in his translation of Eusebius, says, "Nabau, quod Hebraice dicitur Nebo, mons est supra Jordanem contra Hierichum in terra Moab," &c. See Reland's *Palæst.*, 496.

In his view, from that mountain height, the experienced wisdom of Moses might have surmised, if the fact had not been otherwise made known to him, that, for some generations at least, the national history of his people would revolve around the communities settled on the westernmost of these three divisions. The exposed nature of the east country, and the habits of the tribes which had possession of it, compelled them to adopt a nomadic life—for a long period, at least. They had a "great multitude of cattle," and they "abode among the sheepfolds," in their tents. In other words, they lived rather as shepherd tribes, in alliance with the settled communities amidst the western highlands, than as forming one nation with them, all through this stage of the national history, and for some time afterwards.[10] Except in one instance, they depended on the help of the better-disciplined and better-armed troops of Ephraim and Judah, instead of rendering assistance to them. Indeed, all through this period they were little, if at all, raised above the estate in which they had lived upon the Paran uplands, and their inferior disorganized condition disqualified them for taking a marked effective part in the national progress. As, again,

[10] Probably until late in the reign of David. Dr. Stanley represents them as having always lived in a nomadic state. But he is in error here, as Dr. Keith has fully shown in his Introduction to the new edition of his work on Prophecy. Yet, we can hardly identify the very ancient remains lately described by Porter and Graham (Appendix C.) with the "cities" mentioned in connection with the Transjordanic tribes. Those remains lie too far from the western coasts, or borders, where the three tribes were chiefly settled. Nor is it in any way surprising if all traces of their cities have disappeared; for the materials of those ruins would naturally be used, as was the case on the western side of the river, in the erections that *are* found there abundantly of Roman times.

for those who were living in the Jordan valley, if they did not succumb to the profligacy so congenial with that position, they were too relaxed and enfeebled in character to join actively and vigorously in political affairs. Indeed, after the removal of the people from this place, in their advance upwards towards the west, it is very seldom mentioned in the history and chiefly in connection with the "schools of the prophets," whose habits and personal discipline were favoured by the wildness of the desert territory, which lay closely bordering upon it.[11]

Joshua and his colleagues had been anxious to remove the encampment up the western hills as soon as possible after that eventful day, when the terrible trumpet blast, reverberated for the seventh time by the adjacent mountain, had sounded the knell of Jericho, and, in just retribution of its guilt, the lofty towers of the profligate and wealthy city had been strewn upon the plain. The effects would have been fatal if the Hebrews had remained long under the influence of that relaxing, enfeebling climate, where their frames, now braced and vigorous, might so soon be enervated and unstrung. The inhabitants of the valley had been found wholly unfit to contend with the strenuous, active men who had been trained in such severe physical discipline on the high ground of Paran, and in the long march thence amidst the privations of the wilderness. Moreover, habits of profligacy were congenial with the

[11] There appears to have been a settlement of the "sons of the prophets" near Jericho (1 Sam. vii. 15 (Sept.); 2 Kings, ii. 5). May this not have been in the same dreary wilderness lying south-west of the plain, and within a few miles of the city of palm-trees, where afterwards the Essenic communities, and the Christian ascetics of later times, were stationed?

climate and neighbourhood, as was manifested in the demoralized condition of the Benjamites, in whose district or province this region was afterwards included.[12] Their leaders, therefore, lost no time in conducting them up one of the passes which lead thence into the heart of the country. And now another purging of the host rid them of those who would only have been an incumbrance in the strenuous contest they had to wage with the highland chieftains whom they were commanded to dispossess. Those who actually ventured up the craggy, broken paths, often skirting the edge of terrific precipices, and with "waves of naked, desolate, pyramidal, and conical mountains" on all sides of them, were, as indeed they must have been, high-minded as well as adventurous men. The nature of the country strikingly develops the character of those by whom this part of their enterprise was carried forward, especially when we bear in mind how they were encumbered, conveying as they could, on camels and mules, besides their personal effects, the materials and utensils of the sacred tabernacle, and the coffin that contained the embalmed body of their great countryman, which they had kept safe through all the vicissitudes of the pilgrimage, and were now carrying to its grave in that burial-place on the ancestral estate, which he had chosen.[13]

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[12] Unnatural lewdness and profligacy has always characterized, as it does to the present day, the inhabitants of the Ghor.—Dr. Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, p. 375. In that relaxing, oppressive climate, the most odious vices appear native; and this explains the demoralized condition of the Benjamites (Judg. xix.), in whose territory this plain was situate (Josh. xviii.)

[13] For an excellent description of the three roads leading up into the heart of the country, see Rob. *Bib. Res.* 1570, and Van de Velde, ii. 278. Joseph's coffin (אֲרוֹן) was in the encampment of the Hebrews, all through

In our description of the western region, into which they now advanced, for the purpose of settling in it, the conditions needful for the support of a people cultivated and powerful, and fitted to exercise a mighty influence, might be discerned. Its physical influences were of an invigorating character; and its resources, though not of such abundance as to encourage luxury, were sufficient, and dispersed over the entire region. The lower province, including the patriarchal territory described in the first chapter, was in that "south country" which bordered on the wilderness, where Israelites had lived during their long training for so many years; and it had, in its frequent valleys and recesses, among its bleak hills, and over many of the plains that spread between them, large resources for pasturage and agriculture.[14] These were, indeed, more abundant in

their wanderings, as one of the most sacred objects in their possession. In charge of his own tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, it was in the centre of their procession (Num. x. 22–24) as they marched; it was in the same charge near the door of the tabernacle when they encamped (Num. ii. 18); and its final resting-place, in the territory of Ephraim, was close to the central place of government.

[14] The true chronological place of the book of Ruth, as well as of the last five chapters of Judges, is between the third and fourth chapters of this latter book. The rural family life, after the pattern of the Mosaic polity, which we discern in it, belongs, therefore, to the early period of the Hebrew settlement in Palestine; and since we find the same conditions repeated centuries after, on the same ground, in the early life of David, and as none of the stories of invasion and bondage are connected with that part of the country, we may imagine such a state of things as Ruth's history discloses, continuing there through the interval. If this be so, the history in this instance is remarkably illustrated by the character of the country. For just there, on the mountain surface between Jerusalem and Hebron, it is in that medium condition, between the arid desolation of some parts and the luxurious beauty and richness of others, which would eminently favour such a life and social condition as we find in the histories of Ruth and her great descendant.

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the north; the "fatness of the land" lay in its boundary provinces on that side of it. In that direction, accordingly, they first advanced: there, in the garden of the western territory, they were first encamped, as this same province was afterwards reserved for the tribe that was paramount and most powerful. Moreover, they were there close to one of the chief seats and centres of the civilization of the age. The Tyrian cities, which were the home stations of the great merchants of the world, with their arsenals and dockyards, were adjacent to the Hebrews on that side. While, therefore, and for all these reasons, their history revolves around, or rests upon the western provinces, through this stage of it, the centre of their governing body was in the north of these provinces. So, also, was their ecclesiastical centre, for the tabernacle was stationed in a secluded plain at the entrance of the northern province; and there their sacred festivals were celebrated and their assemblies convened.[15]

The great plain, and the valley opening and descending from it on the Jordan fords, bounded their territory on the north, as westwards it looked down on the narrow maritime plain that faded away on the south, into the Paran uplands, on which the Bedouins had succeeded the Israelites as occupants. But the first of these was their

[15] Judg. xxi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 3. In the march northward from the summit of the pass by which they came up from the Jordan valley, the secluded valley of Shiloh, which is protected by the hills on all sides of it, was the first place they passed in which the tabernacle could have been established by them. And as it was the first position they could have chosen, so it was suggested to them by its natural fitness for that purpose. Robinson first, since the time of Jerome (Reland, *Palæst.* p. 498), identified the site, and he has accurately described it. (*Bib. Res.* ii. 269–271).

most exposed and dangerous frontier. West and south the country could only be entered by the long, narrow, and often steep defiles, that were easily defended. But on the north, the wide plain which separated their territory from the mountainous country of Upper Syria, might be the camping-ground of innumerable hosts, who could make their way through the broad and gently-rising passes which opened into the province of Manasseh. Besides, the communities of robust, well-conditioned men, bordering upon them in that direction, had implements of warfare, of which the Israelites were destitute; and war-chariots could be there manœuvred.[16] On that side, accordingly, their worst and most formidable dangers menaced them. Their only security, in fact, was to possess themselves of that part of the country. If they had followed up Joshua's victory over the confederate chiefs who assembled around the Merom lake on the open plain near the sources of the Jordan, and had taken possession of that province, which was yet far within the limits assigned to them, many of the perils of their after history would have been averted. But, heedless of the admonition of their leader, unmindful of the future of their nation, unwilling to make the small additional effort demanded by their mission, they even

[16] For a full description of the war-chariots then in use, see Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt*, i. 335–357; and Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 349. It was only in the ample spaces that lie in the openings between the Manasseh hills, (such as Merj el Ghŭrŭk, near Sanur, and the plains around Kubâtîyeh,) and on the great plain beyond, that these chariots could be manœuvred. They were useless on the hills (1 Kings, xx. 23). For the armour of the warriors, see the description of that worn by Goliath, and compare Judg. v. 8, and 1 Sam. xiii. 19–22, on the comparatively defenceless condition of the Israelites in this respect.

allowed those communities, which they should have utterly extirpated, to remain around and in the midst of them. Midway between the open, rich vales of Manasseh and Ephraim, and the garden recesses and pasture-grounds in the neighbourhood of Hebron—about Bethel and Jebus, their highland territory was comparatively poor and bare, and the occupation of it was not grudged by the Hebrews to the tribes whom they displaced from their richer settlements. Here, accordingly, we find the Canaanites, whom they weakly permitted to continue in the land.[17] Their continuance there made the realization of the Mosaic institutes impossible; and it left the people exposed to superstitious and immoral influences, against which their legislation would have securely guarded them, if they had been in sole possession of the entire country.[18] For it was pervaded by influences from Egypt and Phœnicia, which, being now in the zenith of their power, were the chief exponents and representatives of the most advanced forms of such civilization as men can attain, apart from heavenly guidance and inspiration. The highest existing resources of art and luxury were in the possession of these surviving tribes, or "nations" as they are called, and by these agencies they recommended the errors and the vices which their neighbourhood was the means of communicating to the

[17] Or in that part of the land actually possessed by them. It must be borne in mind that the provinces of Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, mentioned in Judg. i. 30-34, were at present only theoretically assigned to these tribes: they did not enter into actual possession of their estates until long afterwards, and then only partially. The remaining Canaanites were driven by Joshua to the bare mountain heights in the country actually conquered and possessed (Judg. i. 21, 22).

[18] For the reasons of this statement, see Appendix D.

Hebrews. Of what kind the Egyptian influences now were can be distinctly ascertained from the tombs and buildings of this very period; and the colossal Phœnician masses, which date from even an earlier age, give assurance of an imposing strength and grandeur of character, under the influence of which the simple, unsophisticated minds of the people, desert-bred, and yet by their temperament susceptible, would infallibly succumb.[19]

Enfeebled and divided by these various causes, and having also lost the vigilant superintendence of their desert chiefs, one is not surprised to read that their history, all through this first stage of it, is nothing but a succession of petty wars and contentions with the displaced communities in their efforts to recover the territories from which the invaders had removed them. It was with great difficulty that the Hebrews maintained their position during the four centuries after Joshua's death, and they never extended it all through that time. Men animated by the traditions of their great chiefs, and in whom the ancestral spirit was rekindled, roused them to occasional and vehement efforts,

[19] The chief monuments at Thebes illustrate this period, and numerous colossal remains of the ancient Phœnician structures are still extant in the north of Palestine. They excite even greater wonder than the Egyptian masonry, in all who have had an opportunity of comparing the two sets of remains. Their style is grander, and the construction is of a more ponderous character. If they must be placed later chronologically than the cyclopean structures which have recently been examined on the east of the Jordan, their whole conception betokens an earlier date than the Egyptian erections of the xviiith and xixth dynasties, and they were unquestionably standing—probably already ancient—in the period of "the Judges." The remains which are now especially referred to are found on the summit of Hermon (Porter's *Damasc.* vol. i. 293–295), and around the mountain, as well as farther north in the Bukâ'n, as at Mejdel and Baalbek, and again in the lower and more ancient portions of the castles of Banias and Belfort.

or otherwise, they must undoubtedly have either been expelled from the land, or have been absorbed—the Hebrew name then lost for ever—in some of the tribes that were around them.

It was beyond the broad plain upon the north, which separated their territory on that side from the hill country of Galilee, that their dangers were most serious. One of the roads by which the Phœnician settlements communicated eastward with the great cities of Asia, ran through the upper province of the north country, just where it passes into the higher regions of Lebanon, and on its estates were some of the chief victualling stores on which the Tyrians depended.[20] Moreover, the valley which led up from the Jordan to the great plain opened from the chief fords of the river; and in the vicissitudes of that Bedouin life, to which the eastern tribes had partially descended, marauders from the Midianites and Ammonites would often come upon the Hebrews in that direction, and plunder and harass them.[21] The plain of Esdraelon, accordingly, was the

[20] There was a great road, described by Eusebius, passing under Banias, which led from Tyre to Damascus, and thence through Tadmor, to the fords of the Euphrates.—Reland. *Palæst.* i. 413.

[21] One of the main entrances into Western Palestine from the east of Jordan has always been up the valley of Zerîn (Jezreel), at the foot of which are the fords of Bethbarah (Judg. vii. 24), or Bethabarah (John i. 28). Comp. Reland. *Palæst.* ii. 626. One road from the south-east, looking from Beisan (Bethshan), comes down Wady Yabis, in the upper part of which stood the town of Jabesh-Gilead. Another from the north runs past Omkeis (Gadara), across the bridge just below the Lake of Tiberias. In one of these directions the marauding Bedouins would frequently come to plunder the settlements lying in this valley, as far as the entrance of the great plain. But whenever either of the roads was open as far as the river, it was a sign that the eastern tribes were then driven from the possessions which Moses had assigned to them.

scene of their chief troubles in the earlier period of this stage of their history. There they were assailed by fierce invaders from Mesopotamia, from the hills of Galilee, and from the wandering tribes farther east, on this side of the Euphrates. On one of these occasions the energy of the people anticipated the assault before their foes had assembled in the plain. Barak led his troops up to the broad summit of Tabor, and thence he watched the hosts of Jabin, as, with their war-chariots, they ranged themselves under the heights of Carmel, by the waters of Megiddo. As soon as they approached the slender line that marks the Kishon, the Hebrews rushed down suddenly and abruptly from their hiding-place; and the ancient river was thickly swollen that day with the blood of their invaders as it flowed into the western sea.[22] Again, when the Bedouin marauders came up from the Jordan fords, and lay, wearied with their long march through the heated depression of the valley, under the shadow of Little Hermon and Gilboa, they fled in panic when Gideon and his valiant three hundred pursued them far away to their tents in the desert on the east. This victory relieved, and re-established, the eastern tribes; and while their recovered position was maintained, they were a defence to the tribes upon the west. But, for the

[22] Barak's army consisting of "10,000 men, of the children of Naphtali and of the children of Zebulon," could not have been living in Galilee at this time, for this would imply an actual possession of the land assigned to them in the northern province, which is contradicted by this part of the history in every page of it. Only a few scattered members of the tribes had settled themselves here and there on their estates, and the object of the battle, which was plainly aggressive (Judg. iv. 7), was to put the whole of them into actual possession. Hence the emphasis of Deborah's complaints against the tribes which were already settled (Judg. v. 16, 17, 23).

most part, they failed to hold it, and the broad Esdraelon was continually a scene of calamity and disaster to the Hebrews. Strong and well-armed hosts were poured from its ample spaces, through the Manasseh hills, to bind the people and oppress them.

Indeed it is quite evident, that during the whole period of the Judges, instead of having in their possession the entire country, as we have described it in the beginning of this chapter, the Hebrews could only be regarded as one among many tribes that were scattered over it. Doubtless they were the largest and most powerful tribe, and, if firmly compacted together, they would have been invulnerable; but still they were only one in any report or census of the territory that might now be taken. Neither had the tribes on the east exclusive possession of the estates which had been there assigned to them: they only shared the ground, on the usual terms of Bedouin occupation, with the wandering shepherd races, to whom they were becoming assimilated. And the native inhabitants, who had been permitted to remain among them on the west, had even a stronger hold than before upon the territory they had been permitted to retain. Amongst these people the Hebrews cultivated relations, more or less friendly, with the tribes that were nearest to them. Such was the intercourse between the herculean son of Dan with the Philistine community, to whose hill forts on the outlying western range, surrounded by their rich gardens, and orchards, and corn-fields, the Danite mountaineers went down.[23] Of all the

[23] The Philistine communities on the open maritime plain west of the territories of Dan and Judah must have been in a high condition of civilization and prosperity at this time. Indeed, that they were in any respect

tribes of Western Palestine these were, on many accounts, the most dangerous; and now, at the time of Samson, they were recovering the disasters consequent on the late marches of the Egyptian army through their territory. The hereditary vigour of a western race was theirs: their maritime position and habits favoured developments of nature more masculine and energetic than were found in the small dissolute communities which Joshua conquered. They would naturally cultivate friendly relations with the Phœnicians on the north, and carry on an advantageous commerce by means of the corn and fruits which they grew in such abundance. When we remember their position, it is not surprising that they should now endeavour to make their way up the passes leading north-east from their settlements towards the fertile and wealthy territory of Ephraim. They had a pretence for invading movements of this kind, in quarrels such as naturally arose between them and the neighbouring Hebrew communities. And an obvious policy suggested the desirableness of having such a retreat

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inferior to the neighbouring Tyrian colonies, was in consequence of their exposed condition on the line of march between Egypt and the further east, which has always passed straight through their territory (see following note). Between them and the high mountain country on the east, on the undulating surface upon which the tribes of Dan and Judah were settled, was a line of lower hills, through which access was easy, by numerous passes, to the territories of those tribes. Intercourse naturally took place between them and the new colonists, which resulted, as was natural, in the subjection of the latter, especially as, on occasions of scarcity, they would be dependent for their corn supplies on the Philistines. We may naturally suppose, that the service and tribute exacted from the Hebrews under their dominion would be in the form of levies of men for the protection of their southern frontier against the desert tribes. Some such relation between the neighbouring communities existed at the time of Samson's intercourse with his western neighbours.

as those heights furnished, in the event of another march through their territory, such as those of the Egyptians, under which they had lately suffered so disastrously.[24]

From this quarter, accordingly, more serious misfortunes and losses now menaced the Hebrews, or at least those occupying the midland portion of the country, than any they had before experienced, either from their northern invaders, or from the Bedouins who surrounded the encampments on the other side of Jordan. Had the tribes of Israel been united, they might have defied this danger: all the power of the Philistines could have accomplished nothing against them if they had been firmly compacted together on their mountain heights, as was designed. But, alas! they were divided, and enfeebled by their divisions; and, accordingly, we find the lands and cities of Ephraim, which contained what was most fitted to excite the covetous desires of their invaders, were destined to fall under Philistine domination.[25] In the first invasion the enemy seems to have marched his forces along the coast, over the plain of

[24] In the extreme uncertainty of the Egyptian chronology (Appendix A.) it is impossible to speak otherwise than vaguely on the influence which Egyptian affairs thus indirectly exerted on the condition of Palestine. But this much appears clear, that, for the first three centuries of the xviiith dynasty, the Egyptian rule was imposed on the inhabitants of northern Syria, and this implied the constant passage of troops from Egypt through the Philistine territory. In such emergencies the hills above them were a place of refuge from plunder, or even destruction, to which otherwise they were helplessly exposed.

[25] The extent of the divisions of Israel at this time is kept out of sight, if we think of the "Judges" as living in a continuous succession, and as if the Hebrews were united under each. But there can be no doubt that some of these Judges were contemporaneous (Lord A. Hervey on *the Genealogies of our Lord*, pp. 237, 238); and this, of course, implies an absolute separation of the people living under them into distinct societies.

Sharon, which was probably then occupied by his Phœnician allies,[26] and to have made his way around the Carmel headland, so as to come down on the northern frontier through the passes of Manasseh. The enterprise in this direction was less perilous than if his troops had attempted to climb the long defiles that wind upwards, through rugged ascents, above the lower range of hills that bordered his territory on the east. Aphek, accordingly, was the place of the encampment where the Philistines won the first victory which put this part of the country in their power.[27] Thence they marched southward, and "Israel was smitten, and there was a very great slaughter." As the result, the Hebrews became tributary, and they were heavily oppressed, until the courage and energy of Samuel relieved them. But even his relief was only temporary: the strong places of the country were again occupied by "garrisons" of their oppressors; tribute was exacted from Ephraim and Benjamin; and no sympathy was manifested on the part of those who were still exempt, in the southern province, from the odious dominion.

Into such an enfeebled, disorganized condition were the Hebrews now reduced. Thus far were they removed below that united, pure, and high estate which their legislator had contemplated, and in which, spreading themselves far beyond even the limits which Joshua had marked

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[26] See Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, c. i.

[27] "Aphek seems to have been on the site of the present El-Afûleh, in the plain of Esdraelon. The Crusaders and pilgrims of the middle ages considered it so (Reisebuch, *Des Landes*). Or it may have been on the place of the neighbouring El-Fûleh, the *Castellum Faba* of the Crusaders (Rob. *Bib. Res.* iii. 177, 1st edit.; Wilson, *Lands of Bib.* ii. 89.)"—Van de Velde, *Memoir on Map*, p. 286.

out for the occupation of their tribes, they were to exemplify the perfect model of a political estate.[28] They had still the power and capacity to accomplish that mission, and an examination of the Mosaic polity will disclose the steps they should have taken in that direction. Instead, however, of so taking counsel with their legislator in the inspired documents of their constitution, they looked abroad, beyond their limits, to the kingdoms south and east of them, and to those established on the coasts of the western sea, of which they must have already heard—to Egypt and Assyria, to Lydia and the rising communities of Greece. They looked to those same people they had been appointed to teach, and before whom they were to stand forward as models of political existence, that they might hence furnish themselves with guidance; and they resolved that they also "would have a king over them, that they might be like the nations; and that their king might judge them, and fight their battles."

It was under these circumstances that Saul's election took place, and for a while the new monarch was the chief

[28] This purpose was surely implied in the calling of Israel, and in the Divine appointment of the ordinances of national life among the Jews. And it would have been fulfilled; Israel would have become the model nation if they had occupied exclusively, and in its whole extent, the ground assigned to them. Within its limits (Num. xxxiv.) there was an epitome of all the regions of the world (see notes on chap. v.) Every variety of climate, every production of the earth, had its representative in Palestine: with every race of the human family they were enabled to sympathize. If they had "possessed the land," and obeyed the Divine legislation, they might have presented a complete embodiment of a perfect national estate. This ideal of their constitution was always before the minds of the men of insight among them. It was the standard according to which their prophets estimated their condition; and prosperity or disaster attended them proportionately with their approach to or their apostasy from it.

centre of union between the scattered and separated members of the Hebrew family. His aid was first invoked by the eastern tribes against the nomadic hordes who were ever hovering on their borders, harassing and plundering them. He instantly obeyed the summons. Down the same pass, up which Joshua had ascended into the country, and by another forced march, like that of the great leader, Saul led his men across the Jordan fords; and the Ammonite Sheikh and his followers fled to their desert tents, far away in the east, before the strong men of the western hills with their giant leader. They slew the fugitives "until midday: and it came to pass that all who remained were scattered, so, that two of them were not left together. . . And so Saul fought against all the enemies of Israel on every side; against Moab, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines."[29] His greatest success was achieved over these last dreaded enemies when they had accumulated all their resources for a new invasion of the country.[30] They had

[29] They probably crossed the upper fords opposite Wady Yabis, which comes down from the east into the Jordan valley just opposite Beisan (Bethshan). High up in this wady, on the south side of it, the ruin Ed Deir marks the site of the town which received help from Saul on this occasion. Just opposite to it, on the other side of the river, and at the distance of about fourteen miles, is situated Bethshan itself, from which the grateful inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead afterwards removed the mutilated and dishonoured bodies of their deliverer and his sons.—1 Sam. xxxi. 11–13; Comp. Rob. *Bib. Res.* iii. 319; and Dr. Traill's *Josephus*, p. lxxvi.

[30] There are few passages in which the numbers given in the received text present greater difficulties than those we meet with in 1 Sam. xiii. 5. One MS. omits שְׁלֹשִׁים (30) in the number of the chariots. The Syriac and Arabic versions give them as 3,000. It has been suggested that ל of שְׁלֹשִׁים having been twice written by mistake, was then interpreted 30, and that the present reading originated in this way. Or the true number may be אל (31),

formed their immense encampment, as far as it could be extended, on the extreme edge of the Sharon plain, among the recesses overshadowed by the Ephraim hills; and then, in three companies, they had come up and dispersed themselves, relying on their strong position in Michmash. Saul heard of their arrival, and, ascending the Adummim road, he marched his troops over the plain of Jebus, as far as the high ground of Gibeah, from which, across the rocky, broken landscape, he could view the movements of the garrison. Its position was indeed strong, but only few men could occupy it; and they were separated from the other bands, and were at a distance from the main camp in the plain below. Moreover, they knew that the caverns which are so numerous in those hills, were filled with ambushed foes, and they therefore naturally looked with apprehension on the approach of the two soldiers, Jonathan and his companion. They might well fear that many were behind; and, just when their surprise and alarm were most intense, the ground shook and heaved beneath them. Then they were, indeed, dismayed. Was not the same Power again interposing on behalf of this subject people, which had levelled their god in his shrines at Ashdod and Ekron? Saul descried their confusion from his watch-tower at Gibeah; and while with his army he rushed forward to take advantage of it, the men from their innumerable hiding-places in the hill caverns joined in the pursuit,

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where א was afterwards taken for אֶלֶף (1,000). See Davidson's *Revision of the Heb. Text of the Old Test.* Whatever their number, however, chariots and horsemen would have been useless on the broken rocky surface of the neighbourhood of the war; and hence the probability that the main encampment was formed in the Sharon plain below.

and the Philistines fled in irretrievable confusion down the steep rocky passes of the western hills, to their encampment in the plain below. Nor, for years afterwards, did they again venture an assault on the community which was so mightily and so mysteriously defended.[31]

Those years of freedom from the harassments of their chief enemy were improved by Saul in the consolidation of his power, and in securing the union of all the tribes south of the Esdraelon plain along with those on the east of Jordan. During this period he established his claims on the allegiance of Judah by the destruction of the Amalekites, as he had on the pastoral families beyond the river by his conquests of the Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite

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[31] Michmash and Geba still exist, their names almost unchanged, in Mukhmâs and Jeba, on opposite sides of the Wady Suweinit, which is here about one mile broad, though lower down, farther to the east, it contracts into one of the narrow precipitous passes up which, as described in p. 100, the Hebrews marched from their encampment near Gilgal. "Caves" and "thickets," "rocks," "high places," and "pits," abound in every direction in this locality; and it has been suggested that the name "Michmash" (hidden treasure) is derived from this feature of the neighbourhood. גִּבְעָה and גֶּבַע are interchanged in our version of 1 Sam. xiii. But גִּבְעָה (Gibeah) has been identified with Tel el Fûl, which is much nearer Jerusalem. "'The Philistines encamped in Michmash,' that village amid the rocks on the other side of the ravine, little more than a mile distant. The 'spoilers' went out from the Philistines' camp in three companies. One band 'turned into the way that leadeth to Ophrah,' situated on yon lofty hill on the northern horizon, and now called Tayibeh. Another band 'turned the way to Beth-horon,' passing up that rocky ascent towards the west. The third struck eastward, down the path to that valley of Zeboim, or plain of Jordan. All were in full view of the Israelites, and now, as one reads the graphic story on the spot, he almost imagines that he sees the predatory bands starting from Mukhmâs, and radiating along the heights to their several destinations."—Porter's *Syria and Palestine*, p. 214; Comp. Dr. Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, pp. 357–360.

marauders. Once more, however, there was the rumour of a Philistine invasion; and this time they mustered their forces for an approach up one of the southern passes leading direct from Ascalon into the heart of the Judean territory. But the Hebrews now went out to meet and arrest their approach at the entrance of the pass, beyond which they could make no progress. There the Philistines encamped, while the hosts of Israel were outspread on the ascending plains that rose higher and higher towards their mountain homes. Full in sight before them were the richly-cultivated estates of their invaders, which, by Divine bestowal, belonged to them. It was in the broad deep valley of the Terebinth, which lay between their army and that of the enemy, that the shepherd-boy, who had driven his asses across the hills that lie between Bethlehem and this outwork of the Judean territory, won his great victory over the armed giant who so overmatched even the majestic form of Saul. And the surrounding heights reverberated the shouts of the men of Israel and of Judah when Goliath fell. The Philistines trembled when they heard that terrible war-cry of the Hebrews, and once more they rushed down the steep defile into the plain, and took refuge in the cities, walled and fenced so carefully for protection against the armies, or armed bands, habitually travelling past them, on their way to Egypt from the remote cities of the East. Laden with spoil, the Israelites slowly returned to their mountain fastnesses. And for many years from that time no serious attempt was made upon their freedom from that side of the hill country, which may now be

regarded as one fenced height throughout, from the plain of Esdraelon to the desert upon the south.[32]

They made no effort, however, through this period, not even in the closing years of it, to extend their territory. The Philistine and Phœnician colonies were left in undisturbed command of the sea, that great highway over which such an auspicious influence on the destinies of humanity might have been communicated. Alas! the thought of their mission, their Church consciousness, seems now to have died out of the minds of all, except a few devout and high-souled men like David. And yet this was the very time when new kingdoms were rising up on the shores of the western sea, and when the excesses of Asiatic tyranny were at their height. This was the time when, in the accomplishment of its mission in the world, Israel should have arrested the progress of degeneracy on one side of Palestine, and, on the other, have set before the infant nations the true model and rules of a prosperous existence.[33] Such views and purposes could not be enter-

[32] The valley of Elah (Terebinth), now known as the Wady Sumt (Acacia), descends in a north-westerly direction, from the lower projections, or spurs, of the Judean hills, down into the Philistine plain. On the southern or left side of this valley is a ruined site, called Shuweikeh (Shochoh), and two miles beyond, on the same side, is a rounded projecting hill called Tell Zakarîyeh (Azekah). Between these two the Philistine host was ranged; and opposite, on the right-hand side, the Hebrews were encamped. Midway in the valley is the dry river-bed (נַחַל) out of which the smooth stones were taken by the youthful champion: and here was the scene of the conflict between him and Goliath. After his triumph, the route of the discomfited Philistines led them down the wady directly to Tell-es-Safieh (Gath) and Akîr (Ekron). In no instance does even the sacred page reflect more accurately than it does in this the distinctive features of the locality.

[33] They were already conscious of the central position which their country occupied. Besides the great nations far beyond the desert and river, there

tained in the gloomy and untrusting soul of the head of the nation, though they probably were contemplated with more or less distinctness by many of that revolutionary party in the State, which was originated by his ill-conduct, and which now became the centre of the hopes of those who still looked forward to the nobler days of which tradition spoke to them, when the purpose of their election should be fulfilled. Saul was quite unmindful, both of their discontent and of their aspirations, while he went, in a kind of royal progress, from one town to another, over the mountains, through the Jordan valley, to the tented villages on the Gilead woodlands, and even as far as the rich plains of the Hauran.[34] Where his capital was removed when he left Gibeah, the history does not inform us. But he would naturally go from that bare and rocky neighbourhood, and fix his pavilion in one of the rich, protected, luxurious vales, which lie among the Ephraim hills; descending, through the winter season, into the more genial atmosphere, amongst the palm and balsam groves of Gilgal, and sometimes visiting the communities rising in the south, amidst the vineyards and orchards of Judea.

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were, in the remoter east, others with which commercial intercourse was still carried forward on the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. Then, north and south of them, there were the communities of Asia Minor, and there was Egypt. In the Philistine ports (note, p. 120) they saw shipping from those "afar off upon the sea" in the west. All these intimations of the central position which Palestine, even then, held among the nations, were familiar to David and those like-minded with him, and must have led them to speculate on the extensiveness of the Hebrew mission.

[34] The mention of Zobah and Edom (1 Sam. xiv. 47) among the enemies subdued by Saul betokens his rule over at least some portion of the territory assigned to the eastern tribes.

David accompanied him in all these movements, as one of the chief of his retainers. And the popularity of the youthful champion daily increased, until the persecution of the jealous monarch drove him from the court, and sent him, with a few of those who sympathized with him, on his long career as a wanderer and a fugitive. His adventures began in some of the wild, lonely recesses that are so numerous in the northern mountain region, and so well adapted for concealment. In the absence of any details of this earlier stage of his history, one can only imagine him flitting to and fro, amongst the intricate retirements of the entangled country over which the Ephraim and Manasseh tribes were distributed, until at length, compelled to leave them permanently for the south, he comes in view, with his band of trusty associates, over the ridge on the north-west of the Jebusite city, into Nob, where the tabernacle was then standing, and where, in his hour of triumph, he had deposited the sword of the vanquished giant.[35] As he stood there gazing on the fortress of the Jebusites, impatient, as we may imagine, that one of the heathen tribes should still be allowed to occupy what, with his soldier eye, he saw to be one of the strongest positions in the country—did any further thought and purpose, as if in a prophetic impulse, then come on him? Now, however, he had other work to do, and with the weapon of his foe, the

[35] Nob is identified by V. Raumer with el-Isawiyeh, which is about two miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Anâta. But it was probably still nearer the city (1 Sam. xvii. 54), and in view of it. Thrupp (*Ancient Jer.* p. 221) is certainly in error when he identifies it with Bethphage, which Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 65) has conclusively shown was on the south side of the central summit of the Mount of Olives.

memorial of his noble valour, the pledge of better days, in his possession, he went down straight into the Philistine settlements, with the intention, as it would seem, of offering his help and that of his companions, as mercenary soldiers, to protect the Philistine towns against the wandering marauders of the desert. This would be an acceptable and useful service to that small community, who, in their agriculture and their commerce, had employment enough to engage all their resources, and whose wealth was necessarily in constant peril, not only from the Bedouins in their vicinity, but also from the constant transit of the large caravans passing through their territory between Egypt and the cities of the east.[36] Now, however, the Philistines naturally feared to receive him. The jealousy, the persecution of Saul, was too recent for them to be assured of it. Might not David's offer be a stratagem whereby to gain an entrance into their coveted dominion? Their suspicions compelled him to seek another refuge; and this he now found in one of the spacious caverns in the broken ascending ranges on the south-western corner of Judea.[37] Moving

[36] Majuma, the ancient port of Gaza, and Ascalon, were the ports from which the Philistine vessels sailed. Of Majuma hardly any traces remain, and the time when it was disused, as a harbour, is unknown. Ascalon continued to be an important port until the year 1270. Even now considerable exports of grain are shipped from Gaza unto Algiers and other ports of the Mediterranean.—Neale's *Eight Years in Syria*, vol. i. p. 3.

[37] Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 12) says that Adullam was near the city of that name, which, from Joshua (xv. 35), we learn was in the Shephelah. Accordingly, David's family are said "to go down" to him when he was in it. With this agrees the testimony of Eusebius and Jerome, who place the cave about ten miles from Eleutheropolis. From this it has been probably inferred that it was one of those caves which Robinson found at Deir Dubban, and which are evidently of great antiquity. The cave of Khureitun, in the Wady

from this point to the eastern limit of the southern province, from Adullam to Engedi, we now see him—in a condition very different from that luxurious position he had just left in the richer provinces of Ephraim—rendering to the land-proprietors of Judea the service he had proffered to the Philistines, protecting the corn-fields, the pastures, the flocks of those whose estates were in that region, living, with his band of troopers, by the sword, but using it only in the defence of his countrymen, and in the protection of their property against the wild plunderers of the wilderness, under whose depredations they suffered so severely.[38]

From Adullam he removed his encampment to Engedi,[39] over the mist-covered waters of the Dead Sea. It was a secure position, and unlike all others in that region so stern and dreary in its barrenness. There was a sparkling

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Urtas, which is generally visited as the cave of Adullam, was fixed on by the Crusaders, and holds its place in the monastic traditions. But it does not satisfy the above conditions of the true locality.

[38] As David was now occupying the "Land of the Patriarchs," so he was engaged as they had been (ch. i. p. 11), in keeping in check the desert plunderers. Afterwards he was in the same way serviceable to the Philistines. The inhabitants of the plain have always had to depend on irregular forces of this kind for their safety. Accordingly, when Alexander besieged Gaza, we find it defended by a band of mercenary Arabs, under the command of a soldier who had trained them to the same service which David executed.—*Arrian*, lib. ii. 25.

[39] Engedi was built on a rich plain, about 1,000 yards square, on the west side of the Dead Sea. It takes its name from the fountain, still called Ain Jidy, on the mountain above, which waters it, and to which it owes its fertility. The predatory tribes from the east, coming by the western shore of the lake, still make their way across this plain, up the mountain above, into the country around Hebron. It is the chief, almost the single, oasis in the wilderness country of Judah bordering on the Dead Sea. Robins. (vol. i. pp. 500-508) gives an ample and exact description of the plain and fountain, and of the adjacent country.

fountain in its rich groves, and it supplied the resources needful for the sustenance of his encampment. Thence David sallied forth on his warlike errands, and there he retreated when his jealous persecutors followed him. The surrounding country, as far as the wilderness pastures of Carmel and Maon, is in an extreme degree wild and rugged: it is the desolate region of the south; and large portions of it were not unknown to David in earlier years, for he must have led his father's flocks to the very edge of it from Bethlehem.[40] Beyond Carmel and Maon on the west, was that part of the hill-country which formed the northern district of the patriarchal territory. Here, then, he wandered, undergoing that stern personal discipline which was now so needful for him, and training his men for more arduous and more noble enterprises. From all the dissipating, enfeebling influences of the position, which had been so flattering and prosperous while he was in Saul's court in the northern province, amidst the luxuries of Shechem and of Gilgal, he was now removed. From all the temptations it might have brought on him he was clear and free. And while he was now acquiring the confidence of his men, and getting sympathy with the most distressed classes of his community, did he not nourish his own spirit, and inspire theirs, with the recollections that were continually suggested to him? For he was everywhere reminded of the achievements and characters of his great ancestors: the stories of their valorous trust lived

[40] In addition to the reference in the preceding note, see also Robins. *Bibl. Sacra*, p. 69, where Mr. Woolcott gives an account of his journey from Sebbeh (Masada) to Engedi, and thence by Tekûa (Tekoah) to Bethlehem.

there before him; and, along with these recollections of them, the great purpose of their election, Israel's mission in the world, was revealed to him as it had not been even to Samuel, probably to no member of his kingdom since the days of Joshua and Moses. One so exuberant in intellect, so large-souled, thrown so upon himself in such loneliness, amidst associates so uncongenial, must have revolved —who can say what thoughts, and reaching how far downwards, as the memorable scenes around him forced on his remembrance the great promises which had been made to his fathers? And often, too, the long caravans gliding silently on the worn tracks from one of the great kingdoms to another, and the white sails gleaming before him on the distant sea, would bid him think of the enlarging world, in which his people were to be so conspicuous and powerful.

Of such thoughts, yet, comparatively, of how few of them, we have a record in his psalms.[41] But how many of those which were sung amidst the applause and exultation of his rude companions, are lost! The time, however, was now approaching when some of the uses of this hard disciplinary seclusion were to be disclosed, and we may easily trace a significant relation between the increased severity of his jealous persecutor and this change in the affairs of David. For, continuing his revengeful policy, we may well suppose that Saul would soon prohibit the compact between the mercenary soldier, as we must call him, and the landed proprietors of the south. Hence

[41] Calmet assigns the following psalms to this period of David's life: vii., xvi., xvii., xxii., xxxi., xxxiv., xxxv., lvi.-lviii., cxl.-cxlii. The last six are supposed to have been written in Adullam and Engedi.

David's resources were cut off. Now, however, the Philistines, who were at length assured of the reality of the breach between himself and his late sovereign, eagerly welcomed the aid which they had before refused. Unto them, accordingly, David, establishing himself in the fortress of Ziklag,[42] transferred the services which he had before rendered to his countrymen. And hence his new employers, freed by this means from the guardianship of their southern borders, had leisure and resources for another invasion of Saul's kingdom; on which, accordingly, we find them entering in the next pages of the history.

They seem to have carried out this enterprise by an invasion from the north. At this time, Saul's dominion appears to have been partially acknowledged even beyond the plain of Esdraelon. The troops which he led to the fatal defeat at Gilboa came down through the Manasseh hills thus far in their own country, and that his royal authority extended even farther north, may be inferred from the language of the woman at the Well of Dor.[43] In his stealthy visit that night, muffled and in disguise, when he passed the flanks of his sleeping foes in

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[42] Ziklag appears to have been a border fortress on the edge of the wilderness, built for the sake of keeping the Bedouins in check. From its neighbourhood (Josh. xix. 5) to Beth-marcaboth (the house of chariots) and Hazar-susah (the village of horses), it appears to have been a kind of fortress for the protection of the caravans, such as Nukhl and Akabah, on the Haj route, at the present time.

[43] Endor (the spring, or well, of Dor) was, and it now is, a village on the north of the hill which forms the northern boundary of the valley of Jezreel. From Gilboa, Saul crossed the head of the valley to the other side of the mountain, and there, probably, found the witch in one of the caves which are still seen in the rocks that overhang the present houses of the village.

the valley of Jezreel, he appears to have been traversing ground where his power was acknowledged; for the hag, in her cave, half way across the plain, seemed to recognize him as her monarch. If so, a darker shade of melancholy clouds his disastrous end, for it would disappoint hopes that might well have been awakened by this acquisition of new territory, as well as imperil the provinces from which, in the beginning of his reign, the enemy had been expelled.

CHAPTER V.

LAND AND HERITAGE OF ISRAEL.

THE years which immediately succeeded Saul's death may be regarded as a period of transition from that stage of the history which we have just reviewed, to the next, the most central era, on which we are about to enter. It was a time of great peril to the nation. Unto one watching their fortunes at this period, and unconscious of the Divine care that was protecting them, it must have seemed that the Hebrew people were on the eve of extinction, and as if their calling and mission must be abandoned. Through this trial, however, they were carried. The valour and fidelity of Abner saved the northern and eastern provinces; the southern were securely kept by David's prowess. All the country described in the last chapter was conquered; and far around and beyond those central provinces, the Land of the Hebrews grew and enlarged into the extensive territory upon which the next and greatest events of their history were transacted. Now, at length, the Heritage of Israel was found to justify and to fulfil the largest anticipations which the people had founded on the promises that were so often made unto their fathers.

Hitherto, only one district in the south-western province of the dominions which were marked out by the express terms of those promises had been permanently occupied by them. The entire province itself had never been in their exclusive and sole possession; and yet it was only a small part of the whole country which was theirs by Divine appointment. Now, however, from this province, as from a nucleus or basement, their realm extended itself, and stretched forth on the north, and east, and south-east, until in its supremacy over the entire territory that had been promised, it reached the dimensions of an extensive empire, which was considerable, even among the vast empires by which, on either side, it was surrounded.[1]

[1] The extent of the Hebrew empire is ascertained from the account of David's conquests (2 Sam. viii., and 1 Chron. xviii.), and from the description of the territory which Solomon received from him (1 Kings iv., and 2 Chron. ix.) It agrees with the dimensions of the "covenanted inheritance," as these are given in Gen. xv., and in Num. xxxiv. The Euphrates and the Mediterranean, for the eastern and western boundaries; the entrance of Hamath," and the "river of Egypt," for those on the north and south, are mentioned in both accounts. This last boundary is identified with the Wady el Arish, the great drain of the Paran wilderness. But a question has been raised, whether the expression מֵהֹר הָהָר לְבֹא חֲמָת, "from Mount Hor unto the entrance of Hamath," denotes the open plain from Mount Casius, along the Orontes, or the opening into the country between the the northern extremity of Lebanon and the Anzairy mountains. Dr. Keith (*Land of Israel*) strongly contends for the former identification. But his arguments, which chiefly rest on the emphatic הוֹר הָהָר, pointing, as he believes, to Mount Casius, are inconclusive. The question is well and compactly stated in Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii. pp. 354-350. Taking, then, the northern boundary from the upper extremity of Lebanon to the fords of the Euphrates at Carchesium, we have, within this and the other limits already named, a surface of about 15,000 square (geog.) miles, exclusive of the desert country, which was above three times that extent. The entire surface covered more than 60,000 miles. Now the Assyrian empire which at this time included Babylon, comprised about 75,000 miles, Egypt 10,0

On the west, the line of their former mountain territory was extended, beyond the great plain, through the Galilean hills, and the ranges of Lebanon continuous with them, as far as the northern termination of those ranges, to nearly twice the distance from its commencement in the wilderness of the south, where it declined away into the ground of the patriarchal settlement. The opposite range of Anti-Lebanon, from the same northern limit, was also added to the mountainous regions of their dominions. And this addition was far more considerable and important, in respect of the character of the territory gained, than in respect of its extent. These northern ranges were of an altitude and massiveness incomparably greater than the most considerable of those with which the Hebrews were previously familiar. Hermon, on the snowy summit of which the Ephraim and Manasseh tribes had always looked with awful admiration, as they gazed northward, was now theirs; and, on the western range beyond, even Hermon was surpassed and surmounted by still loftier heights, over which they also asserted their supremacy. The plains and valleys in that new mountain country were, many of them, even more rich and beautiful than Shechem itself, which was, heretofore, their garden land. The fertile, lovely spaces enclosed by the Galilean hills; the forests and romantic valleys of the Lebanon; besides the ample

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miles, and Lydia about 80,000 miles. But David never occupied his wide territory in anything like its whole extent. As Joshua's successors were satisfied with pacific alliances with the neighbouring tribes, instead of exterminating them, so David was content with the tributary offerings of the wandering and settled communities which he had subjugated, instead of amalgamating them into one nation over which the Hebrew legislation was supreme.

and luxuriant plain which lay between Lebanon and the opposite range upon the east, increased their territorial wealth beyond the largest ideas they could have previously formed.[2] The natural advantages which they had before regarded as special gifts, in a few choice and favoured spots, were now held by them in extensive provinces, and were such as to give them a place amongst the most opulent, as well as amongst the most populous and extensive nations on the earth.

Their additions on the east included the numerous oases of the vast desert which lay south of the line joining the northern extremity of Lebanon, and those fords of the Euphrates, where Abraham had passed in obedience to the guiding hand which led him to the country now in actual possession of his descendants.[3] The palm-groves of

[2] The western hills, which pass beyond the plain of Esdraelon into the higher range of Lebanon, rise there to elevations with which there is nothing to compare in the south of Palestine. Indeed, the highest eminences of Galilee are only a few hundred feet above the plain; and Mount Hermon, which comes in view from the hills around Shechem, naturally rose up before the inhabitants there as a prodigious elevation, even as the "Mount of God." On the opposite—*i. e.* the western—range there are peaks of even greater altitude. The valleys lying embosomed both in Lebanon and Antilebanon are of unspeakable beauty, as well as fruitfulness. Shechem only faintly prefigures them. "All this day we have been high up in the Lebanon, enveloped in a thick mist for many hours. It was a marvellously beautiful sight, when this mist lifted itself at intervals, and showed us the sunny vales, with the large, well-conditioned villages on the mountain slopes far below. Neither Switzerland nor the Tyrol can show a better conditioned peasantry than we met here."—J. If the descriptions given by Burckhardt of the country in and around the Lebanon ranges (*Syria*, pp. 160-180) and Porter (*Damascus*, vol. ii. c. xvi.) are compared with the well-known provinces of South Palestine, the aspect in which David's newly acquired territory would present itself to his countrymen will be seen most impressively.

[3] This country is described by Colonel Chesney (*Euphr. Expedit.*, vol. i. c. xviii., and vol. ii. maps iii. and iv.) Dr. E. Smith (Robinson's *Bib. Res.*,

Tadmor, and the rich and beautiful country around Damascus—through which the patriarch had passed, in a wonderful exercise of obedience and trust, not daring to tarry there amidst the temptations that beset him—were theirs. And now, also, they had undisturbed possession of the Gilead woodlands, of the plains of the Hauran, and of the rich pasturage of Bashan. The tribes that had shared this region with them on equal terms were either driven far away into the adjacent desert, or were reduced to the condition of their serfs and tributaries. As north and west from Hermon, so now eastward from the highest summits of the Hauran mountains, they could not, in this period, discern any spot that was exempt from the Israelitish dominion: from the Euphrates unto the Mediterranean, the sway of their great monarch was absolute and unresisted.[4]

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vol. iii. 1st ed., Appendix ii.) enumerates twenty-six Bedouin towns or villages, in the country between the 35th and 34th parallels of latitude, which is generally laid down on the maps as almost a desert. The march of Cyrus, and that of Alexander, to the Euphrates further illustrate the character of this province of the Hebrew empire, over which, at the time when David conquered it, the power of the Zobahites appears to have been supreme.

[4] We must not be misled by the maps into the opinion that his eastern conquests were an unimportant addition to David's territory, and gave him only another province of desert country. "To the south-east" (by Sulkhad, at the southern extremity of Jebel Hauran) "runs an ancient road, straight as an arrow, across the fine plain. . . . . Our guide informed us that this road extends to Bŭsra, on the Persian Gulf. The same statement I afterwards heard from others; and the historian Ibn S'aîd, cited by Abulfeda, says that from this castle a king's highway ran to Irak, and that by it Baghdad may be reached in ten days. On the plain extending from south to east, I counted fourteen towns or large villages, none of them more than twelve miles distant, and almost all of them, so far as I could see by the aid of a telescope, still habitable, but completely deserted. . . As another remarkable feature of the landscape, ... not only is the whole country checkered with the outline of old fields and fences, but groves of fig-trees are here and

And in no country, then known or unknown, in the world, could there be found within the same limits such varied and prodigal abundance, or such manifold diversities of climate and of production. An assemblage of specimens of what is most characteristic of the regions of the earth, an epitome of all of them, might be witnessed in the now enlarged dominions of the Hebrews.[5] Mines and forests, rivers, the richest corn lands, the most ample pasturage, were now added to the wealth and resources of the people. And they were still further increased by the possession of the country on the south-east; for the whole of the Edomite territory also was now in their possession. Compared with the wealthier provinces on the north, this of Edom was inconsiderable as a direct addition to their riches. But it gave them command of the eastern port of the Red Sea, and of the great caravan routes from their new country into the marts and harbours of Arabia.[6] As,

there seen, and terraced vineyards clothe the sides of some of the tells and a few sections of the plain." Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii. p. 183; and *Syria and Palestine*, p. 522. Compare also Appendix, note C.

[5] "The Arabian poet's observation, that 'Lebanon bears winter on his head, spring on his shoulders, autumn on his bosom, while summer lies sleeping at his feet,' is applicable to the climate of Palestine generally, for such is the diversity of levels in its configuration, that four regions are marked out by nature, strikingly distinguished by climate and vegetation, viz.: (1.) Region of Ghor and El Arabah—*depression*, 1 to 1,300 feet; mean temperature, 75° to 70°. (2.) Littoral plains—mean elevation, 1 to 500 feet; mean temperature, 70° to 68°. (3.) Table lands—mean elevation, 2,000 to 3,000 feet; mean temperature, 63° to 60°. (4.) Lebanon—mean elevation, 4,000 to 10,000 feet; and 35° mean temperature." Peterman's *Phys. Atlas*, p. 135. There, accordingly, "we may find the date, the sugar-cane, the orange and citron, the banana, the olive, the Indian tamarind, with almost all the forest trees of Greece and Italy, and all the fruit-trees of Europe." For an account of the mines, see Volney, i. 281.

[6] Along the route described (pp. 85-87) as that taken by the Israelites, on the east of the Seir mountains. All the Egyptian and Arabian imports

again, in their now entire possession of the Paran uplands, where their ancestors had passed thirty-eight years of desert life, they held all the approaches into Egypt, and controlled the extensive land commerce between that people and the Phœnicians.

Thus, after the lapse of nearly ten centuries, Israel had reached, and was established in, the position where its world-wide mission might, in its largest relations and significance, have been fulfilled. Hitherto its church calling, its custody and proclamation of the divine witness, its manifestation of the heavenly order, had been accomplished within narrow limits simply as a family and tribe. But now, taking rank as a nation, and holding that rank in a position of conspicuous advantage, it was to utter that witness and unfold that revelation in a national character, and to disclose with authority the divine idea of national existence. And, as we shall see, the history in this stage will receive great light from its geographical illustrations. They will enable us to perceive some of the causes and reasons that explain the attainment of that position in so short a period, the rise of the nation from such a depressed and dispersed to such a powerful estate, as again its entire failure in the fulfilment of that vast and world-wide purpose for which it had been so summoned and established.

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landed at Elath must have been conveyed along this route to North Syria and the settlements in Upper Mesopotamia; and this extensive line of commerce was entirely dependent on the power supreme in the mountain region of Seir, on the west of it. The holders of those fastnesses could have issued forth, and harassed and plundered the merchant travellers, or have protected them, and furnished them with supplies, as the present holders now do to the yearly caravans between Damascus and Mecca.

As, for instance, the circumstances wherein the men who were the agents in accomplishing this great change in Israel's possessions, who so converted the broken and dissevered tribes into one of the most powerful nations existing at that period—received their training, were singularly adapted to render it effective.[7] These circumstances were well improved by David, than whom, indeed, few men have ever possessed richer personal endowments. He was the worthiest successor of Moses in his place of supremacy over Israel; and to him, in fact, the great legislator was looking forward when he was divinely enabled to contemplate the future of his people. Energetic and farsighted, brave, generous, and affectionate, rich, too, in intellect, eloquent and thoughtful, the leader of Israel's

[7] There is a vivid account in 1 Chron. xii. of the men who joined David's forces while he was in the "south country," going through the discipline which so wonderfully prepared him for his after career. All of them, by necessity of their position, had been trained in warlike habits. The Benjamite slingers and bowmen had been in frequent conflict with the Philistines on their native hills. The "lion-faced" Gadites had with difficulty held their own against the occupants of the fortress heights upon their territory (note, p. 138). And the "mighty men of valour" in Manasseh had been constantly tasked in defending the passes opening through the mountains from the Esdraelon plain into the richest portions of the country. Of all the Hebrew tribes, there were no men better fitted by their native training to form the nucleus of David's army. They covered the whole ground described in Chapter i. as the Land of the Patriarchs. Hebron and Ziglag in the north and south, and Adullam, amongst the mountains of Judah (note, p. 120), on the west, are chiefly marked as three of the boundaries of the territory covered by them; and we recognize the fourth in Sebbeh, the ancient Masadah, on the west of the Dead Sea. That this was "the hold" (מְצוּדָה) mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 4, 5, and 1 Chron. xii. 8, may be inferred from the identity of name; and to the same effect is Josephus' testimony (*Bell. Jud.*, iv. 7), where he speaks of Masada as "a fortress erected by *our ancient kings*, as a place of safe deposit for their wealth during war, and as a place of safety for their persons."—Compare Dr. Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. p. cix.

fortunes at this period is intimately known to us. And at his command, proud of his leadership, were the best representatives of the energy and prowess of the Hebrew race. Many of them had been alienated from Saul's army by discontent with his procedures, and others were led to David's camp by their love for roving and adventurous enterprise. Such were the lion-faced men of Gad, bounding and agile like the gazelles they chased upon the mountains—the expert and skilled slingers of Benjamin—the hardy sons of Manasseh, who were trained in the border warfare by which they resisted the invaders coming down through the passes on Samaria. It was in the open downs south of Hebron, in the comparatively lean, inhospitable territory where Abraham's retainers had received their discipline of war, that these men were severely trained. In strenuous efforts for their hard and sparing sustenance, in perpetual conflicts with the marauding tribes southwards in the wilderness, nurtured and inspired by all those ancestral traditions of the future glory and prowess of their people of which their habitations on those hill-sides reminded them—this body-guard of David soon became the very men to form the nucleus of legions that would be mighty, nay even irresistible, in war. How they rejoiced when their leader received directions to go up that he might be installed as chief of the southern tribes at Hebron, and there guard the sepulchre of their great ancestor, who had long dwelt on the very ground of their encampments, and whose memory was so closely associated with every object that was around them.

They were strong enough to coerce the descendants of Caleb, had they, the proprietors of the south, been disposed

to resist David's entrance on the office to which he had been called. This, however, was not likely. They would rather be inclined to welcome as their chief the strong man who had so long guarded their territory, and who, now established as a tower of strength amidst them, enabled them to bid defiance to all aggression, either from the neighbouring Philistines, or from the roving plunderers of the wilderness in front of them. Accordingly, for seven years he ruled as king in Hebron. And during all this time he was sedulously engaged in completing the discipline of the rough men who had shared his desert fortunes, and preparing them for the higher service on which they were afterwards to enter. Nor again can we imagine a position better adapted for this purpose. For was it not the most sacred place of the whole country? Was it not on that very ground, on those hill-slopes, in those narrow valleys, on the pastures of that wilderness, that for more than two centuries their ancestors had guarded their high deposit, maintained the divine testimony, and manifested the divine order of human life? Did not the treasured sepulchre there, upon that hill, which was already ancient and worn with the passing of eleven centuries over its covered surface, contain their dust? Those were the best days of David, and we know from his own language how sacredly he then held the trust of Abraham, and the aspirations of Moses; nor can we doubt that, as Abiathar celebrated the divine offices, the high-souled leader of his people raised their confidence in that appointment, and destiny for their nation, of which he believed the dawn and fulfilment would be seen by them? Conscious of such untiring energy both of soul and body, and stirred by his prophetic insight into

the future, moved also by the rumours of the great dynastic changes both in Egypt and in the far East,[8] we cannot doubt that, through that seven years, the mightiest purposes were contemplated by the youthful king; or that, with the contagion of such enthusiasm, he was diffusing amongst his valiant but rude soldiery aspirations like his own; while he was organizing and instructing them in preparations for warfare of far higher pretensions and character than any which had yet been meditated by his countrymen.

Hebron and its neighbourhood were well adapted for the discipline and preparation of the men who were to effect the great change which was now about to convert the Hebrew people from an assemblage of tribes into an extensive and compacted nationality; but this movement needed to be carried on around a centre further north, and which was more securely placed than the ancient city. Now, therefore, David's mind naturally reverted to that fenced height, the military capabilities and advantages of which he must have remarked whenever he had passed it; and he determined there to plant the throne unto which, by universal acclamation, he was chosen. No effort had been made to disturb its old occupants, for the country around was unattractive and barren: there was no motive

[8] Just before this time the Egyptian sceptre had passed from the twenty-first dynasty into the hands of the "Military Pontiffs," whose rule extended over the whole of Egypt. "They were succeeded by the Shesbonks, who were evidently foreigners, and, as Mr. Birch has conjectured, Assyrians. Tiglath Pileser I. is said to claim his conquest of Egypt about 1120 B.C."—Wilkinson, in *Rawlins. Herod.*, vol. ii. p. 375. This was about the time of the conflicts between Assyria and Babylon, which at length resulted in the subjugation of the latter kingdom, and in the extension of the Assyrian empire as far westward as the Mediterranean.

to disturb them. Of the four hills over which the site of the city afterwards extended, one only, the Hill of Zion, was then covered with habitations, and this alone was all which David at first thought of occupying. Deep ravines enclose it on three sides, and on the north the ground was considerably depressed. One might have thought it impregnable. Who could scale those heights, defended by their ramparts, and by the deep fosse which nature had dug around them? The Jebusites mocked the Hebrews with contemptuous defiance, when they looked upon them at the bottom of the ravine, or parleyed with them on the other side of it, as unconscious, as their assailants indeed were, of the long eventful history they were then opening. But the position was soon taken. Joab followed Joshua, second in the long series of the captors of Jerusalem.[9] In the occupation of David, it became, in truth, impregnable. And now night and morning the smoke of the burnt-sacri-

[9] The details of the siege agree with the supposition that the assault led by Joab was on the city occupying the south-west of the four hills, the modern Zion; and this is the view adopted in the text. I am not ignorant of what Mr. Fergusson (*Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*, pp. 55-58) or Mr. Thrupp (*Ancient Jerusalem*, pp. 12-30) has written, to prove that the "stronghold of Zion" captured by David was the lofty hill, afterwards levelled by the Maccabees, on the north of the Temple Mount. But surely such a site would have been insufficient for the city of the Jebusites; and it is most unlikely that a position so advantageously placed as the south-west hill should have been unoccupied. These reasons have often been advanced against the view in question; and I see it is negatived by Porter (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 93) in his careful account of the topography of the ancient city. There may, however, have been a fortress on the site in question occupied at this time by the Jebusites, which was known by the name Zion, that hence came to be attached to the whole city. Yet even this is unlikely, since (1) it would have stood detached from the main town; and (2), its existence is irreconcileable with the constant tradition that Moriah was the scene of Abraham's great act of self-devotion, the narrative of which plainly implies that the east side of the Jebusite city was then entirely unoccupied.

fices began to rise up for the first time, in the clear blue sky above those hills, the symbol of the stedfastly ascending fortunes of the men who were dwelling on them. The priestly trumpets, and the watchful challenge of the sentinels, were heard over the adjacent plain; and soon the hostile community of the Philistines, whose seats to the westward, just below the hill-range, the Israelites could discern from their new towers and battlements, felt the hand of power which was put forth by the mighty sovereign that had established himself within those walls. They were forced to choose between tribute and expulsion; and henceforth the envoys duly came up along the Rephaim plain with their homage and with the taxes levied on them by the conqueror. David smote the Philistines, and finally subdued them, recovering from them all the cities they had taken from his people.

Their supplies forwarded to David, left his warrior hosts free to prosecute his conquests eastwards, and then through the region which had never yet been subjected, to the north of the Esdraelon plain. His first care was naturally to secure the eastern tribes on their fat pastures and woodland heights, in their rich fertile plains, and beside the broad streams which lighted up and cheered their landscapes. His design was to give them undivided possession of the territory which was nominally theirs, to remove the tribes that shared it with them, and to raise them up above the Bedouin condition, to which they were in a great degree assmilated.[10] Accordingly, advancing along the track of the

[10] The main object of David's campaign on the east of the Jordan would be to reduce the fortresses on the frequent heights (Ramoth) of Gilead, and in the rocky fastnesses of the Lejah.—Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 240.

earliest conqueror of their nation, this "tenth legion" of the Hebrew Cæsar, the "imperial guard" of the Alexander or Napoleon of those days, firmly knit together in attachment to their heroic captain, went forward, impetuous and irresistible. Moab expected the host, which in this instance was vindictive, for the Hebrew king had family wrongs that must be avenged. "He smote Moab," and, in the same expedition, Ammon was added to his spoils. These victories put the Hebrews in undisturbed possession of the whole territory from the Jordan to the wilderness that was bounded on the far east by the Euphrates. And now, were not the hopes, the promises treasured by his nation approaching their fulfilment? On that side, as well as on the west, he had reached the promised boundary of the consecrated lands. But how, in this advanced position, could he maintain himself, for, both on the north and on the south of the new territory over which he had fought his way and asserted his supremacy, fierce and jealous enemies would come down on him. Northwards, over the desert territory beyond which he might look upon the very track wherein his great ancestor had journeyed, he had trespassed on the border of the Zobahites. Then there were the rulers of the Damascus region, and the Tyrians, and their allies in Lebanon and Hamath. One may imagine what a vast array of the horsemen of the

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Some of these were held by the old occupants of the country on whose territory the Israelites were established; and they were the sources of constant danger and anxiety to the Eastern tribes. Not one of them, however, could hold out against the troops that had scaled the Jebusite citadel. These entrenched foes of the Hebrew were dislodged and subjugated. And now, garrisoned by the troops of the mighty conqueror, each fortress became the means of confirming and extending his dominion.

desert, and of the Tyrian war chariots, would come in furious onset, on these intruders from the western highlands. Their resistance was of no avail against the now disciplined valour of the Hebrews; they could not stay the destined career of David's victories. The Zobahites fled beyond the river, and no one remained in this direction to dispute his right to enter as a conqueror into Damascus, and to rest himself and his brave soldiers by its sparkling waters and in its dense refreshing shades. There the tribes of the Eastern Lebanon, and the chiefs of the encampments as far as the Euphrates, hastened to lay their homage at the feet of the great conqueror, so strangely, so suddenly, coming down on them.[11] For the maintenance of his position he left garrisons in Damascus; and now, secure on this side of the Hauran, he directed his energies to the more arduous enterprise of subjugating the tribes in the mountain fastnesses upon the south.

And his God "brought him into the strong city: he led him into Edom." With a subdued country in the rear, the adventurous host penetrated the long, intricate, and steep defiles, and found themselves, after traversing its narrow entrance gorge, in the mountain valley of Petra, and neither did the steep cliffs that surrounded it, nor its lofty excava-

[11] The effect of David's conquests in the new country beyond that already occupied by the Hebrew tribes, which he added to his dominions, and the object which he was satisfied in accomplishing, may be seen in the description of Solomon's empire:—"And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms" (each, *i.e.* retaining its national character) "from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served Solomon" (*i.e.* as his feudatory vassals) "all the days of his life. . . They brought every man his present (or tribute), vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and garments, and armour, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year."—1 Kings iv. 21; and x. 25.

tions, protect the dwellers from the invading host which was now armed with the iron missiles they had found in rifling the Philistine arsenals, and which were the products of the skill and resources of Phœnician art. The terrible Hebrew battle-cry with which those rock walls echoed was the prelude of another victory. And the garrison left there to keep the Edomite mountaineers in subjection caused the smoke of Jehovah's burnt-offerings to shoot heavenward from the altar built upon the open surface of the mountain city. David "gat to himself a great name" when he returned from this expedition.[12] Did he not, before he left Petra, ascend the hill above it, and stand over the grave of the great high-priest, and gather inspiration, as he thought of the venerable and faithful men who had once, on a memorable occasion, stood there, and looked, as he did, over that desolate, billowy mountain country through which his ancestors, five centuries before, had been guided forward in the outset of that history of whose prosperity he was the favoured agent?[13] Such inspiration was needed by him, for vast labours were yet before him: mighty enterprises had yet to be accomplished. But every step of his march homeward across the naked, desolate, and rugged country over which Saul had hunted him "like a partridge upon the mountains," reminded him of reasons for trust, and animated him with heightened courage. That land, so wild and stern, was the very ground on which he and his veteran comrades had acquired their prowess, and nourished the

[12] 2 Sam. viii. 12, 13. The true reading in this and the preceding verse is ארם not אדם.—See Davidson's *Heb. Text of the Old Test., in loc.*

[13] See note, p. 84.

high purposes they were so magnificently accomplishing. From the Valley of Salt they marched home through the borders of Maon and Carmel and Ziph, and then through the familiar territory of the first seven years of his reign, as well as of the haunts of his youthful musings, and the scenes of the first trials of his boyish strength.[14]

Of what lofty exultation must he have been conscious when he returned, after such a career of triumph, into Jerusalem. Such conquests, so rapid and far-reaching, were indeed amongst the most marvellous achievements ever wrought by one man, even after we take into account the effective preparations that had been made for them by Saul's ability and power; and they were marvellous proofs and tokens of the native energy of the Hebrew race, and of the strengthening influence of their institutions when religiously observed by them.

From a small, dispersed, and subject people, the Jews had become the lords of an empire such that they had now fully in their possession all the means for accomplishing

[14] David's first battle with the Edomites was fought in the "Valley of Salt" (2 Sam. viii. 13), *i.e.* on the marshy plain at the foot of Jebel Usdum (the "salt mountain"), in the south-west corner of the Dead Sea. It was probably after this engagement that "he put garrisons in Edom," when he personally visited Petra, for the purpose of completing his conquest. (Psa. ix. 9; cviii. 11.) His route homewards after his expedition would probably be either up the pass Es Sufâh, and thence through the southern hill country of Judah in the ordinary route from Petra to Hebron at the present time, or through the ascent of Engedi, by which the predatory bands that came to attack Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 2, where, again, the true reading is מדם) entered the country. (This is a common route taken by the Bedouins of the present day, when they come from the east of the Dead Sea into South Palestine.) In either case, David would return to Jerusalem through the country in which he and many of the soldiers with him had lived through the most remarkable and trying period of his life.

the great work to which they had been called. If David had risen at this time up to the level of his opportunities and his vocation, the whole course of human history would have been changed. Never for any man has there been opened out such an occasion for great achievement, and he was personally equal to its requirements; all his faculties were fully sufficient for his work. But success, and the influence of the magnificence amidst which all eyes had been recently turned on him, were already enfeebling and perverting his heroic soul: they were dimming and spoiling that pure ideal of the Mosaic polity which had risen up before him in days of severer contemplation.[15] And instead of restoring it, as he might have done, and thus have blessed the world from his central, high position, by the revelation of human society after its divine model before the nations, he disclosed its worth and its perfections by his own calamitous departure from that model: what Israel was meant to be we see developed and glorified by his own perpetual apostasy from his exemplar.

Instead of applying himself to occupy the whole country now under his power according to the Mosaic rule, fusing into one true nationality the various races he had subdued, and apportioning the estates amidst the tribes and families in equitable divisions, we find him already intent on centralizing its resources in his new city, and in securing his own personal aggrandizement. With a strangely short-sighted policy, he was satisfied with the tribute which the subject nations and communities brought up to him, instead of actually occupying their territory, and establishing

[15] For an account of the manner in which the Mosaic polity was meant to be exemplified in David's empire, see Appendix, Note D.

everywhere the Hebrew institutions. The instance of the Philistine conquest will best illustrate the nature of his error. He should have made the needful effort to remove them wholly from their ground, and have given Simeon, to whom it was apportioned, an undivided possession. Then, besides having a coast-line at command for western voyages, he would have closed one of the main paths of access into his country, and a path, too, most eligible for an invader, seeing that it always furnished abundant supplies to the hostile army that might be led through it. Besides exposing his country to danger through neglecting to take this step, David deprived himself of one of the chief advantages that were meant to be secured by the Mosaic polity, in blending together into a community of interest, melting down into one common national type, the subjects of his widely extended kingdom, so various as they were, and so diverse from one another, by the peculiarities of their climate, neighbourhood, position, and antecedent habits. The nomades of the eastern desert, the fishermen and traders of the coast, the mountaineers of Ephraim and Judah, the feebler, more luxurious inhabitants of the Jordan valley, might, under the binding, conciliating influence of the Mosaic legislation, have become one people, and, in their compacted nationality, have given an example of mutual communication, of service, and faculty, and help, which the marvellous variety of their position and resources would have made exceedingly impressive.

As, again, the same variety would have brought them into effectual relations with all other peoples and races upon the earth. The nations on either side of them—the

languid eastern, the maritime people of the west, merchants, shepherds, and agriculturists—all would have found in this wide-spread territory, which in its entireness formed an epitome of all lands—races with whom they might be conscious of sympathy and in a manner identify themselves. Sound developments of national life within its limits would have served as the normal type of such life in every other of the diversified regions of the globe, and nations of the most dissimilar habits might have been taught by the Hebrews how to live.[16] For thus it was appointed that, in and through this family all other families of the earth should be blessed; and when David had subdued his territory up to the covenanted limits, he should, with this view, and in fulfilment of what he knew to be the Divine intention respecting Israel's national calling, have applied himself to consolidate his conquests.

But he utterly neglected to do this. These various races, instead of being formed into one compacted people, were merely tied and joined together by a common allegiance, like the widely scattered tribes of the great kingdom-empires on the east.[17] And instead of being rallied

[16] As "200 years ago, he (Milton) whose heart and imagination seem to have glowed above those of other men, with a fervid admiration and love of England, exhorted and admonished her, in his own grand words:—'*Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live.*'"—Archdeacon Hare.

[17] "The first and most striking feature of the earliest empires is, that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms: the countries over which the dominant State acquires an influence not only retain their distinct individuality . . . but remain in all respects such as they were before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole internal organization and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty which binds them to the performance of certain

at some central point where they might have all been convened in the name of their common Lord, the subjects of his vast dominion were compelled to look away to Jerusalem, which was far remote from many of them, as the metropolitan centre of their government and worship. For David still adhered to his purpose, that this should be the chief city of his territory. It was central, and well fitted for its purpose when the kingdom was comprised within its former limits. But now there were many sites farther north that were far more eligible for the building of his capital, whither the tribes might have "gone up," from all sides of the consecrated land, "unto the testimony of Israel," and the selection of which might have averted the jealous enmities by which the kingdom was afterwards rent in twain.[18]

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duties towards the head of the empire (see note, p. 140), . . . They must (in addition) allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion, by way of their country, on the part of his enemies (compare 2 Kings xxiii. 29). . . . These obligations, with the corresponding one, on the part of the dominant power, of the protection of its dependants against foreign foes, appear to have constituted the sole links which joined together in one the heterogeneous materials of which the Assyrian (and David's) empire consisted. . . It appears that such an empire contains within itself elements of constant disunion and disorder. Under favourable circumstances, there is an appearance of strength, and a realization of much magnificence and grandeur. . . . But no sooner does an untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy . . . than the inherent weakness of this sort of government at once displays itself—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder—each kingdom reasserts its independence, tribute ceases to be paid, and the mistress of a hundred States suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition."—Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. i. pp. 491-2.

[18] The most cursory glance at the map of David's empire, which coincided, as above shown, with the assigned boundary of the Promised Land, shows the entire unfitness of Jerusalem as the capital of such a territory if, in fact, the Mosaic polity had been realized upon it. On the other hand, it was continually spoken of as the metropolis sanctioned by divine appointment.

That Jerusalem should have been chosen by David as his seat of government, showed unmindfulness of "Israel's mission in the world," as it had risen before him in days of severer contemplation. And testimonies to the same effect would have met the observer who travelled in any direction over the wide and varied territory we have described as owning his authority. Instead of passing through successive cantons and provinces grouped around their tribal head, all furnishing their contingent to the defence of the country, meeting together at their national feasts and acknowledging their king as ruling over them by the grace of God, he would have found in David's empire that which he might have found in any of the Eastern kingdoms of that age. In that favoured land of richness and of beauty, which now extended to dimensions nearly equal to those of Egypt and Assyria, he would have seen all the social evils of which we may still read in the excavated tablets of Nineveh and Khorsabad, or in the temples and sepulchres of Thebes. There were impoverished villages in it, and towns plundered by the officials from the distant metropolis, and tribes and people bound together only by

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There is an apparent difficulty here which, however, is at once explained when we remember that David utterly failed to realize the Mosaic type and ideal of the Hebrew nation. His empire, as it was actually constituted, is described in the account of the Assyrian "kingdom-empire," which is given in the preceding note. In reference to the actual circumstances, and the after history of the Hebrews, Jerusalem was, of all sites in the country, the best that could have been chosen: the "*umbilicus terræ*," as Jerome called it; and yet, on its mountain height (2,500 feet above the sea), far away from the roads between the great empires, and only accessible by steep and winding passes, it was secluded, so that it was freed, as it now is, from any necessary implication in the great movements of the world. So secluded, and yet so central (see Reland *Palæstina*, 52, 838), it was marvellously fitted as the scene of the events that were to be transacted in it.

a community of serfdom and tributary service.[19]. So, accordingly, it came to pass in the wide-spreading disorder and corruption which resulted, that the pretexts of the demagogue were listened to by the injured people, and that, instead of abiding peacefully amongst them as a paternal monarch, sudden and disastrous rebellion visited and chastened David in his forgetfulness of the knowledge and resolutions of better days. And this involved him in the last and worst breach of the Mosaic ordinances, in the establishment of a large standing army to coerce the factions, and forcibly hold together, in his wide dominions, the different races, which were naturally, and by training, so unlike.[20]

One seems to discern a penitent confession of the errors of his policy, and of his failure in the great com-

[19] The account of David's regal state in 1 Chron. xxvi. and xxvii., the amount of tribute imposed on the people, the number of slaves in the country (1 Kings, ix. 21-23, and 2 Chron. ii. 17), the treatment of the remonstrants at Shechem by Rehoboam, are plain tokens that a large number of the population were in an utterly abject and depressed condition. It is just such a condition as is implied in the gang service, the degrading punishments, the absence of any sign of the existence of a class of yeomen and free peasantry, which every one at once remarks in the old Egyptian tomb paintings, and in the tablets excavated at Nineveh and from the ruins of Lower Chaldea.

[20] "That the census was not, as in former times, taken by the priests and magistrates, but by Joab, as commander-in-chief, assisted by the other military chiefs, sufficiently indicates the military object of the census; and, if they were accompanied by the regular troops under their command—as the mention of their 'encamping' leads one to suspect—it would seem that the object was known to, and disliked by, the people, and that the census could only be taken in the presence of a military force. Indeed, the measure was repugnant to the wishes of the military commanders themselves, and was in a peculiar degree abhorrent to Joab, who saw in it danger to the liberties of the people, and gave it all the opposition in his power, and undertook it reluctantly when he found the king adhere to his purpose with all the obstinacy of age."—*History of Palestine*, p. 492.

mission that had been entrusted to him, in David's last admonition to his successor, and in his address to those who were to be around Solomon as his counsellors. But the evils were then too inveterate to be uprooted: the nation was now, after four centuries of trial, too far committed to its many false and evil courses to return on its way to the nobler destiny that Moses had marked out for it. All the youthful monarch could do was to carry forward his father's policy, and to this work he believed he heard the Divine summons, when those acclamations were sounded on the upper pool of Gihon which carried dismay to the traitorous revellers, as they were borne down by the western breeze to their convention at Enrogel.[21]

It is one of the mysteries of Solomon's history, whether he was conscious of the evils of his father's policy, or whether, with all his far-reaching sagacity, they had escaped him. It was indeed true that they were not likely soon to show themselves; and did he on this account intentionally abstain from assailing and subduing them, until they had presented themselves more ostensibly, and in broader front, that so they might be more firmly confronted, and more decisively overcome? That, at all events, to which we see him with all his energy applying himself immediately after his accession, and after the rebellious factions had been quelled, was to carry on the works which his father had meditated, on the largest

[21] Enrogel is identified with the Bir Ayub just south of the junction of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. It is even now the scene of frequent festivities (Dr. Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, p. 316), and is quite within the range of sounds such as were made at the proclamation of the new monarch, when "the earth was rent with the sound of them" (1 Kings i. 40).

scale of extent and splendour. The hills adjacent to Zion were to be covered with magnificent and massive edifices: the deep and rounded valleys, richly fertilized by the rains which swept down the hill slopes, were to be trained and cultivated into a garden paradise.[22] So he would emulate the mighty structures, described to him by his father and the generals of his returning hosts, which had been raised in his border provinces by Phœnician art, and he would thus compensate his capital, fixed on those bleak and naked hills, for the garden shades of Shechem and Damascus. Or, why might not the Hebrew capital vie with the massive splendours of the Nile? Should the fane he was commissioned to raise in honour of Jehovah be despised

[22] "I made me gardens and paradises (פַּרְדֵּסִים), and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits. I made me pools of water from which to water the plantation for rearing trees. . . . A garden enclosed is my sister; a spring shut up; a fountain sealed."—Ecc. ii. 5, 6; and Cant. iv. 12. One of these gardens is found in the deep Wady Urtas, which is "enclosed" on either side, and watered by three vast pools or reservoirs, that are known as Solomon's Pools at the present day. Urtas is affirmed by the monks to be a corruption of Hortus; but there can be little doubt that it takes its name from Etam (2 Chron. xi. 6), where Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7) tells us Solomon had lovely gardens and fountains of delight.—"As I read from Ecclesiastes and Canticles Solomon's garden and water imagery, we all felt it to be just freshly and naturally taken from the scene before us. . . . An aqueduct for conveying water from the fountain to Jerusalem lies along the roadside, and it is now in use."—J. "A few hundred yards up the shallow valley above the Saracenic castle at the head of Solomon's Pools, is a large round rock, which closes the mouth of a shaft of masonry leading to a subterranean, rock-hewn room, containing a fountain. This, tradition confidently asserts, is the celebrated fountain to which the wise man compares his spouse. Nor can the tradition be disproved. The united strength of many men is required to unseal the entrance."—Barclay's *City of the Great King*, pp. 552–3. Of this "sealed fountain," which we did not see, an engraving accompanies Dr. B.'s description. Besides these gardens, there was another which reached from the mouth of the Tyropœon to Enrogel; but this, with the roads in the neighbourhood of it, was destroyed by a great earthquake in the reign of Uzziah.—Joseph. *Antiq.* ix. 10.

by those who had looked on the temples of Osiris? Should the shrine of the Hebrew Elohim vail before those of Ammon and of Pthah? Largely revolving his commission, and with an ambition that is most intelligible when we bear in mind that he was called to his throne at the revival of Egyptian and Phœnician art, he communicated his purpose to the Tyrian monarch, demanding the aid which could from no quarter be furnished so efficaciously as by the merchants and artisans who now held the supremacy of commerce over the intellect and resources of the earth.

Hiram willingly listened to this proposal. It was evidently his policy to conciliate his feudal sovereign, and especially since Solomon now had command of all the caravan routes that led directly from the Phœnician ports to the cities of Assyria and Media. And then, how greatly might he facilitate, by the same powerful agency, his commerce with the south of Egypt, with the settlements of his nation in the Persian Gulf, and, beyond, with the marts of Hindostan. Busy negotiations followed. Phœnician seamen and shipbuilders now passed in frequent, heavily laden caravans through Palestine, down the broad valley of the Arabah, to Elah, and the shores of the Red Sea, on which another maritime town was now erected. New docks and arsenals arose; and the wild rovers of the Elah passes saw that another era was being inaugurated in their history, and that the ancient commerce was about to be revived in their wild solitudes, which had not been visited for generations past, except by the train of merchants going to and fro between the cities of Arabia and Egypt.[23]

[23] The commercial ports on the east gulf of the Red Sea had been in

Meanwhile the architectural enterprises of the monarch were advancing in Jerusalem. In the exact correspondence of their masonry with the colossal monuments of Phœnician art, we see the results of this negotiation. The men, who wrought in the spacious quarry excavated by Solomon in the bowels of Bezetha,[24] dug out the stupen-

existence more than twelve centuries before Solomon's time, but the trade seems to have languished towards the close of David's reign. Hence another navy was built, and "Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon." 1 Kings ix. 26, 27. The imports (ivory, red sandalwood, monkeys, peacocks) show that the trade extended as far as India eastwards, and to the east coast of Africa on the west. Sir E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, vol. ii. pp. 100-102) finds traces of the Hebrew commerce at Point de Galle. The "store cities" which Solomon built at Hamath, his garrisons at Tiphsah (Thapsacus) on the Euphrates, and of Tadmor (Palmyra) in the desert, are signs of extensive commerce with the countries on the north-east.—"The merchandize sent to the Hamath store cities must have been carried on the backs of camels. But as the heavy produce of Palestine cannot have been sent out by such a conveyance, we are left to conjecture that Solomon's caravans carried those Egyptian light and elegant manufactures which were unrivalled by the home productions of the countries northward. . . . Particular mention is made of the linen yarn imported from Egypt, and of the horses and chariots. . . . These were bought by the Hittites, and by the tributary princes of Syria. The horses of Egypt were of a particularly fine breed, as may be seen by the paintings. The same paintings show us the compact, light, yet solid fabric of the Egyptian chariot."—*Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 122. Compare 1 Kings x. 28, 29.

[24] Reference is here made to the immense cavern which extends beneath the greater part of the north-east corner of the city. That we see in it the very quarry out of which the stones were excavated for the building of the Temple, is evident from these circumstances:—1, that the excavation was clearly made for building purposes; 2, that the detached blocks, of whose form and size clear traces were left in the places from which they were hewn, perfectly correspond in shape and material with those remnants of the old temple which are still standing in the Jew's "Place of Wailing," and at the south-east corner of the Haram; and 3, from the manifest evidences that the stones taken from the quarry were also *dressed* there; as we know was the case with those used in the building of God's house, which "was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the

dous blocks, and squared and bevelled them, after the pattern of the Baal temples, which then girt Mount Hermon, and which were seen everywhere in the northern provinces of Solomon's dominions. The fane of Melekartha itself had been built of such materials. This remembrance would cause uneasiness and anxiety in the minds of many pious lookers-on, when they saw the ponderous masses slowly moved to their appointed position in the sacred structure. And in what likeness and similitude was it now rising forth? Was it the design of their monarch that this Phœnician masonry should be shaped and framed into Egyptian forms? Were the temple structures of the Nile the model after which the fane of Jehovah should be built?

This was, indeed, the case. If Tyrian builders were employed on the materials of the structure, Egyptian architects appear to have furnished the design and plan of it.[25] The Nile temples, which had not long been com-

house while it was building."—1 Kings vi. 7. "We found the cavern about 600 feet long, and 125 feet broad, and on an average about 8 feet high; *i.e.* it extends from the entrance as far again as Belzoni's Tomb at Thebes. . . . Some of the blocks are only partially detached. They are left as if the mason would return to complete his labour: the marks of his chisel are discernible on all sides upon the walls; the chippings of his work, and the broken pottery of his drinking vessels lie strewn upon the ground."—J., see Appendix, note E.

[25] Of all the writers on the subject, Mr. Thrupp (*Ancient Jerusalem*, c. iv.) has shown in fullest and most accurate detail that Solomon's Temple was built on an Egyptian model. And every one who has examined the palace temples at Thebes must feel convinced that Egyptian architecture supplied the pattern for most of Solomon's public edifices.—"Medeenet Haboo is a magnificently conceived and executed work, but I thought less of the genius and skill displayed in it than of its marvellous illustrations of the earlier chapters in the First Book of Kings. There were 'the lions by the king's throne,' and 'the targets of beaten gold,' and the 'captives on whom the king levied a tribute of bond-service,' and the 'great stones, costly stones,' and 'hewed stones,' employed in the glorification of the Jewish, as well as of the Egyp-

pleted, which, as comparatively recent structures, were the wonders of the world, and the theme of all who returned from travel in the Egyptian territory, were undoubtedly in the mind of the projector of Solomon's temple. Egyptian architects must have been employed, if they were not actually upon the spot. In the Ramaseum, in Medeenet Haboo, and in the older portions of Karnak, which had been completed just before this period, as memorials of the great achievements of Rameses—who took his rank just before David in the roll of world-conquerors—we have exact illustrations of the otherwise obscure description of that structure which Solomon now raised on the sacred mount. Egypt was then accessible, both in its southern and northern provinces, from Palestine; and then, at least, free intercourse between the nations was permitted

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tian monarch. Then there was the extraordinary sculpture representing men pouring over the king, in streams of symbols, life and power; and the priestly processions with the ark carried aloft in them; and the birds carrying the tidings of the monarch's greatness to all corners of the earth; and the scribe reading aloud his exploits; and his sons and princes upholding the shrine on which he is seated; and the outspread wings of the figures of Truth and Justice behind him; and the musicians with their pipes and trumpets; and, in one word, immense glorification, in all forms, of one man, at the expense of his nation's weal. An excellent commentary on the records of Solomon's reign would be furnished by simply copying this coronation scene of Rameses III. The battle pictures are wonderfully grand and horrid, with the heaps of tongues and hands, and the wretches fastened to the chariot axles of the conqueror, just as Wilkinson describes them. . . . Only two walls of the pavilion, in which one has a glimpse of the domestic life of the monarch, are remaining, but they are enough to convey sufficient testimony of the low state of the inmates of such a harem as that of him 'who had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines,' and whose wives 'turned away his heart.'"—J. Mr. Fergusson (*Palaces of Nineveh Restored*, pp. 222–9) gives reasons, however, for believing that Assyrian, rather than Egyptian, models were adopted by Solomon in his *palace* architecture. See also Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 642.

on both sides. David and his son were, doubtless, flattered by the attention and courtesy which the Egyptian king felt it was then politic to manifest towards the neighbouring potentate who had suddenly acquired such overwhelming power. Four or five days' journey, direct south of his own territory, would take Solomon to Zoan and Memphis. Or, from the end of his now tributary province of Edom, an easy voyage down the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea would take him to the seaport of Thebes. And, in that direction, strongly escorted across the Eastern desert in safety from the marauding tribes, which even then were harassing the mighty dwellers on the Nile, Solomon most probably went, rather than in slow progress up the Nile, to look upon the colossal structures in which his close alliance with the royal family of Egypt gave him now a special interest and pride.[26]

The Hebrew king would behold those huge and stately piles, rising in their firm and solid breadth amidst the rude and squalid habitations of the people who had built them. Through the graceful obelisks, shooting heavenward into the clear blue sky, through the mysterious temple recesses, he would pass into their spacious, lofty halls, accompanied by the majestic white-robed priests, deciphering and interpreting the hieroglyphic scrolls, opening out and com-

[26] Solomon's wife was the daughter of one of the Pharaohs (called the Military Pontiffs), at the close of the twenty-first dynasty. From inscriptions found at Karnak, it appears that Upper Egypt was included in their rule. And since the port of Thebes was within a day's sail of Elah, the Hebrew monarch's visit to the city (which, with his taste for magnificent architecture, must have been so attractive to him) is in the highest degree probable, though, as need not be said, we have no historical authority for it. Remains of the wall Gisr el Agoos, built to keep out the Arabs of the Eastern desert, have been found as far south as Thebes.

mending to one who had intelligence to appreciate it, the abstruse and wondrous meaning of those dark symbols which he saw everywhere around him. Upon all these wonders, his large, capacious soul reflective and susceptible of all, Solomon would look, wondering and impressed by everything he witnessed. Thebes would array itself in its most sumptuous costume, and hide its shame and degradation on the day of his progress through the city. The wide river, thronged with its decorated boats, the silken streamers floating above the gay and merry crews, the broad pennons unfurled on high above the fortress porches before the temples, music, and banquets, and high festal services, and over all a grave, intellectual, even solemn tone—how wonderful it would all seem when he thought of the quiet heights of Zion, and of the simple brotherly ritual, and of the festal services which Moses, in clear foresight of all these very influences, had ordained! He was still faithful in heart to his ancient creed, and this was a mighty testimony to that Divine spirit of wisdom which had been given to him. And yet Solomon did not pierce to the inner falseness of all that show; its covered lies escaped him; the baseless assumptions of that false philosophy eluded the wise man's apprehension! If, indeed, he had discerned the depths of the superstition that lay there resting on the nucleus truths, and the heartlessness of the kindred tyranny which was there chaining and crushing human spirits—had he discerned all this, would he have formed the purpose that the shrine of his father's God should be assimilated to those fanes? Or, if it had been already suggested to him, would not the gloomy, mysterious, demon-superstitions of

the crushing tyranny he beheld, have decided him in avoiding everything that could bias his people towards Egyptian types and images of life?

Moses had been leading them away from such evils, in contemplation of still further retirement and departure. How, then, should Solomon, at this critical stage of his nation's history, take a step from Moses' ground in still nearer approximation to the idolatry of Egypt, which now was elaborated into shapes of worse errors and corruptions?

How this question, if it occurred to him, was answered, his history informs us. The Tyrian artisans raised the great structure according to the Egyptian design and plans: in the temple on Moriah we have the counterpart, as near as Solomon's resources enabled him to make it, of the structures of Thebes and of Abydos. And worse still, on the mount opposite the temple, facing the worshippers as they came through the cloisters into the eastern valley, there, before them, was the very original of their sanctuary in that miniature temple of Ammon or Osiris, having its Egyptian priests also in attendance, which he had built for his queen. The same fountain of Siloam, midway between this shrine and that of Jehovah on the sacred mount, would furnish water for the frequent washings which both rituals prescribed.[27] So had the

[27] The Rabbins say that the water poured out at the Feast of Tabernacles was drawn from the pool of Siloam, and that the priests also took from thence the water that was mingled with the ashes of the red heifer. Its position, at the mouth of the Tyropœon, just opposite, and within a few yards of, the Mount (of Offence) on which Solomon's Egyptian temple stood, would naturally make it the source from which the priests officiating in that temple would draw the water for the frequent lustrations prescribed by their ritual.

godly exclusiveness, the firm protesting spirit from his own ground against the idolatries of the nations, been broken up in the mind of the Hebrew king.

And we perceive other consequences of his Egyptian visitation and alliance in the recital of his splendour, still illustrated by the remains of it in his gardens and vast pools, his horse studs and treasure houses. What does all this absorption of his resources in his own personal indulgence imply with regard to the masses of the people, except an impoverished condition—a caste degradation and servitude not contemplated in the Mosaic institute, but represented plainly enough on the pictured records of Egyptian history in this age, and expressed and embodied with portentous emphasis, in its colossal structures, and deep and endlessly decorated excavations? Nor were the saddest features of Pharaoh's tyranny absent from the society in Palestine. Slavery, in its most oppressive form, is disclosed in the course of the description of the king's architectural achievements.[28] The remaining Canaanitish communities, the captives taken in war, were pressed into bond service, and sent, in gangs, to the forests and mines of Lebanon, or compelled—their sufferings uncared for by the kindly provision of the great legislator, their groans unheard—to toil in some of the other forms of drudgery necessarily involved in the false social condition to which the country had at length descended.

It implied a vast expenditure, and in order to meet this, as well as in his need of absorbing interests that might consume the energies and divide the attention which else

[28] 1 Kings, ix. 20–23; and 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18. See also notes, p. 148.

might have brought this rising system of falsehood to a close—Solomon now considerably extended the range of his commercial enterprises. His relations with Egypt favoured the importation from that country of the flax so abundant in it, and of the horses, for which he found numerous purchasers in the free descendants of the original colonists of the country, the Khittai, who roved at large on the borders of his dominions in the north-east. He also effected new conquests in that direction, which further helped his projects of mercantile adventure. The Zobahite ally of his father was now subject to him; and far in the eastern desert, at Tadmor, and even beyond, on the banks of the Euphrates, as well as in Damascus, the soldiers of the powerful king were found garrisoning the fortresses he had there built for them, and keeping in awe the wandering tribes by whose plunders his traffic from the Tigris cities, and from beyond, even from the merchant communities in Media and Northern India, would have been endangered.[29]

His commercial enterprises southward, by means of the ships which conducted his negotiations, and those of the Phœnicians with Arabia, and which then completed the

[29] The "store cities in Hamath," and "Tadmor in the wilderness," were Solomon's chief buildings in the north of his dominions. Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 6) speaks of Tadmor as an extensive city, encompassed by strong walls. In the time of Aurelian it was "an opulent and independent city, connecting the Roman and Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce" (Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, c. xxi.), and to this period its magnificent remains belong. No traces of earlier structures have been found, but "there are scores of subterranean sepulchres whose positions are marked by the swell of the vaulted roofs. Rich is the harvest here treasured up for some future antiquary."—Porter's *Damascus*, vol. i. p. 229. Baalath, mentioned (2 Chron. viii. 5, 6) along with the two Bethhorons, as having been built by Solomon, and which has sometimes been indentified with Baalbek, was in the south of Palestine, near the Philistine plain.

line of intercourse between those distant ports and the western settlements of the Mediterranean, so extended his renown, that now, among the caravans laden with the bales of costly fragrant merchandise from the Red Sea and Indian ports, a royal train is seen advancing up the desert valley of the Arabah, across the expanse of downs on which the shepherd ancestors of Solomon the Magnificent, a few centuries ago, fed their flocks. Thence it went on, past Hebron, where he had erected a massive enclosure over their graves, and through his garden valley to Jerusalem. Now the Sheba queen saw the magnificent buildings of his renowned metropolis, and the great viaduct which joined the principal hills on which it was erected; and though, as her offering shows, she was not unused to wealth and grandeur, she was overwhelmed by the tokens of advancement and prosperity that on all sides surrounded her, and still more by the wisdom of him who ruled over all this magnificence, by his sentiments, his pure enlightened views, so contrasted with the grosser notions then prevalent in the contemporaneous empires, even those of Assyria and Egypt.

But how much mightier, how much more benignant, ought the influence of Solomon, or rather of Israel, to have been upon the mind of this royal searcher after wisdom, and on her attendants! Instead of seeing in Jerusalem the likeness—purified and ennobled indeed, but still only the likeness—of the other kingdoms and empires then existing, the Queen of Sheba should have carried back to her home among the Arabian spice-groves, into the community of her oppressed, enslaved dependants, the model of social freedom, of order, and of union, along with just

conceptions of the true character of God, and of the genuine relations between Himself and men. Alas, the pure conceptions of divine truth, the divine teachings of Moses which Solomon unfolded to her, and by the wisdom and nobleness of which she was so much impressed, were blended in her mind with tokens around her of the neighbouring superstitions. Was not the very Temple itself framed after the model of the shrines in the community adjacent to her own? and were not the fanes of Chemosh and of Moloch standing there on the summit in front of her, when she turned eastward from gazing on that splendid structure on Moriah?[30]

In respect of the social state of Judea at this period, instead of an equitably distributed prosperity in a free, brotherly, united state, where everything kindred with caste and exclusiveness was unknown, she saw a centralized tyranny established at Jerusalem. The resources of the entire community were being absorbed for the splendour and aggrandizement of the metropolis, and for the glorification of the one man who was there supreme. Samuel's unheeded prophecy was being literally fulfilled.[31]

[30] Besides the temple on Moriah, and the heathen temples on the "Mount of Offence," the chief buildings in the city were Solomon's palace, on the east side of Zion; the "House of the Forest of Lebanon," which was evidently, from the account of its contents, the armoury of the city; the great viaduct, or bridge (1 Kings x. 5), which connected the Temple with the palace (and of which, most probably, the broken arch on the south-west corner of the Haram wall is a relic); and the citadel which even then, doubtless, was erected on the rocky mound north of the Temple area. The numbers which are given in connection with Solomon's home establishment indicate a population as large at this time as ever occupied the city; and except in the later years of Herod's life, it must have presented as splendid and imposing an appearance as at any period of its history.

[31] Compare 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12, with 1 Kings iv. 1–20, and 2 Chron. viii. 9, 10; 1 Sam. viii. 13–18, with 1 Kings iv. 7, 22–28, and 2 Chron. i. 14, ii. 10, ix. 25.

The overshadowing greatness of a Pharaoh, or of an Assyrian king, the "I am, and there is no one else"—was now about to be realized among the people. In fact, a condition of things was arising which Moses would have denounced as an utter apostasy from his design; and which in that very character, was protested against and fiercely condemned, by that remonstrative prophetic voice, of whose saving ministry of truth and wisdom the Jewish kingdom had never in its darkest periods been bereft.

Nathan and Gad were no longer living, but their mantle had fallen on Ahijah. His ministrations were carried on amidst the tribes on the central highlands of Ephraim, among the oldest and most influential families in the country, and in the tribe which was the most important, both in respect of its large interest in the prosperity of the State, and of its ancestral recollections. Moreover, one of the holy places was possessed by them. Shiloh, with a sacred antiquity now gathering around it, continually reminded them of what was forgotten amidst the pomp of the southern city. There, accordingly, an expression of the gathering discontent of the better spirit of the community was first made public, and it was very naturally first heard there, since the "burden of Joseph," imposed according to the fertility and productiveness of the soil, would, in that garden district of the country, be most irksome and oppressive.[32]

This was one of the signs that the "kingdom-empire" of

[32] Seilûn (Shiloh) is now in ruins and uninhabited. Mr. Thrupp (*Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 404) found in the village "a building, the doorway of which was nearly blocked up with earth," which he learned bears at the present time the name en-Neby Ahiyah, the prophet Ahijah.

Solomon was threatened, even in his time, with the fate of such societies, and other symptoms and intimations of the same fact are elsewhere discernible. That he, who was chosen as the spokesman of the grievances of Ephraim should flee to Egypt is significant of disturbed relations with that country; and the revolt of the Damascenes in the north must have been followed, not only by the removal of Solomon's garrisons from that city, but by the evacuation of those desert fortresses which he had built for the security of his north-eastern territories. Nor were these the only results of that revolt. There was an immediate reduction of his revenues from this source in consequence of the establishment of the new power at Damascus, and now the wealthy graziers on the Gaulan and Bashan plains were no longer protected from invasion. Their estates, their flocks, their vast encampments, were continually liable to loss and damage. Again, the Hebrew tenure of the Edomite dominion, and with it the commerce on the Red Sea, was also threatened by the flight into Egypt of its vassal king.[33]

There were great reverses for Israel manifestly at hand, and Solomon's wisdom, which was now informed by the experience of his lengthened reign, would add bitterness to the anxiety of his last years, since it clearly revealed to him the oncoming of calamities to his family and kingdom that could not be averted.

[33] When Hadad, "being yet a little child," fled into Egypt, it was one of the Pharaohs of the dynasty of the "Military Pontiffs" who received him and gave to him as wife the sister of the queen. Another later monarch of this dynasty was Solomon's father-in-law, and it had just passed away, being succeeded by the Sheshonks, when Jeroboam went into the country.

CHAPTER VI.

EPHRAIM AND JUDAH.

THE anxious forebodings of Solomon were soon justified. Almost immediately after his death the general discontent with his false and centralizing policy, which had been hitherto suppressed, found an occasion for effective utterance, and this was naturally first heard in the provinces, which, on account of their wealth, suffered the heaviest exactions, and where the ancestral claims of the old proprietors were most interfered with by the erection of the distant capital. It was in Shechem, where the "burden of Joseph" was felt to be the most severe of any imposed in the country, that the storm, which had been gathering for so many years, first broke. And henceforth two distinct histories, each with its appropriate scenes and environment, were transacted on the Hebrew territory.

In the place venerated and hallowed as the first seat of government which they had occupied after the conquest of the country, they met together as one people for the last time;[1] though, indeed, in the true sense of the expression,

[1] From the old associations connected with Shechem as the earliest seat of government in the country, as well as on account of its central position, it appears to have been chosen for the inauguration of the Jewish monarchs, just "as Rheims, the ancient metropolitan city of France, was long continued as the scene of the French coronations" (Stanley). This former political importance of Shechem will partly explain the rise in it of the great rebellion; and another cause may be found in the extreme fertility

one people they had never been. They had hitherto been rather an aggregate of races bound by a common allegiance, than one organic nation; and the distinct signs of this were now plainly manifested. The chief men of Judea, the young nobles, haughty and domineering, and the old men, the senators of the late monarch, the sharers of his counsels, the disciples of his wisdom, went up with Rehoboam to the place of the convention. As they went on, they were overtaken by parties of the old chiefs from the unwalled encampments beyond Jordan, and by the representatives of the ancient Ephraim families, fondly dwelling on the traditions of the tribe's importance. When they reached Shechem, they were met there by the hardy mountaineers of Galilee, and by the Tyrian borderers, whose very costume, as we may suppose, denoted the Phœnician influence which wrought upon them, and showed how loosely their national adherence was maintained. And this varied assemblage, denoting the heterogeneous elements of Solomon's dominion, was made still more diverse by representatives from the allied Tyrian communities, from the subject Philistines, and from some of those outlying nomadic tribes that still acknowledged allegiance to Israel. But instead of universal acclamations welcoming the accession of their new monarch, murmurs and muttered discontent were heard through the vast

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of the neighbourhood. This would make the "burden of Joseph," which Jeroboam was appointed to collect, far heavier than that of other districts in the country. That the demands of the people were so moderate (1 Kings xii. 4), notwithstanding this ground of complaint, and their natural jealousy at having their political status lowered, showed the great influence of those classes who were afterwards (see note, p. 169) obliged to migrate into the southern kingdom.—Compare Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, i. 284-287.

assembly, though the place, overshadowed by the mountains of benediction and of cursing, was well fitted to awaken every feeling that might have bound them as patriots together. Those murmurings had been in part awakened by one who had just returned from Egypt, and who would not fail strongly to represent the national degradation in that country, as that to which the Hebrew community was tending. Were they content to sink into caste subservience like the peasant race upon the Nile? The masses of the people there were yoked for the purpose of deifying the few men at the head of their society, by the lowest and most slavish toil at the colossal works that were now going forward. And should this, Jeroboam asked, be the condition of the Hebrews? Or were the wealthy proprietors of Ephraim and of the northern provinces, and were the rich graziers of the east, willing to contribute so largely for the aggrandizement of the Judean capital, and yet at the same time to be scorned by the poor, yet haughty families that dwelt around it?

In this manner bitter discontent was raised. Yet the demands were moderate which they made in consequence of such representations. The angry feelings of the assembly were calmed and softened down not only by local associations, but by the influence of men far purer in their aims and of higher views, than Jeroboam turned out to be. That those demands should be so haughtily, arrogantly, refused was the plainest sign that the Hebrew kingdom was indeed taking the downward course. Its descent must be stopped, and the measures and agents for this arrest were from Jehovah. There was guilt, however, chargeable on the people, in this behalf. There had been complicity on

their part in Solomon's false and evil course; else such a man as Jeroboam would not have been their leader in this emergency. Plainly as, for his own purposes, he could report the degradation of the Egyptian tyranny, he yet failed to perceive its principle and root, and how it had necessarily grown out of the superstitions of the people. That the obstacles interposed by their complicated ritual and animal worship to an immediate and direct intercourse between man and God, was the real cause of their degradation—was unknown to Jeroboam, who must not be numbered among the divinely raised, inspired patriots of the Hebrews, or else he would not have again introduced that Mnevis worship, which had had such strange fascinations for their ancestors, amongst the people: he would not have set up his calves at Bethel and at Dan.[2]

His representations, however, prevailed. The bold and mighty chiefs of the vast pasture grounds upon the east raised the cry, "To your tents, O Israel!" which separated, at one blow, the northern and southern provinces, which, as we have seen, had never been thoroughly amal-

[2] Bethel was locally in the tribe of Benjamin, but "the house of Joseph went up against it," and secured it for their descendants (Judges i. 22-26). The position was important on account of its command of the passes leading down to the west, but especially of those leading down to the east plains in the Jordan valley. It stood at the head of the main approaches into the hill country from that quarter. Next to Hebron it was perhaps the most venerated of the "holy places" at this time, on account of the sacred stone which Jacob had consecrated with oil, as (afterwards ?) the Baitulia of the Phœnicians were religiously anointed. Dan also was a "holy place," having been consecrated by the worship which Micah had established there (Judges xviii.). Mnevis was the original of Jeroboam's calf (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egypt*, v. 197). But that it was a divine symbol, as Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 8) intimates, appears certain from the fact that the prophets who sanctioned the worship of it claimed for themselves the position of prophets of Jehovah (1 Kings xiii.)

gamated together, after the type of the Mosaic polity, and by the laws and principles which Moses had prescribed.

On the south of the boundary line which stretched across the middle of the central block of Palestine, the country was for the most part hard, and barren, and ungenial: none of the rich vales and glens that had seemed so attractive in the eyes of the invading Israelites, as they marched up from Gilgal, were included in it. Except the oases of the Jordan, and the valleys around Hebron, the southern kingdom owned no territory that could compare with the richness that spread over nearly the whole surface of the Israelitish kingdom. Accordingly, a harder life, passed under severer conditions, was needful for the people of Judah than was enforced on the better provided inhabitants of Samaria and Galilee. They were compelled to adopt more frugal habits: by the necessity of their position, they were more perfectly assimilated to the type of those men who were adapted to retain the Hebrew trust, and discharge Israel's mission in the world; as again, they were not forced into any close habitual contact with impure, luxurious, idolatrous communities.

In both these respects they were in utter contrast with the northern kingdom.[3] Nearly through its whole extent, up from the boundary line to the entrance of Hamath, and from the Sharon plains to beyond the mountains of the

[3] Between the country around Gibeah a few miles north of Jerusalem, and Bethel, the country is unfit for occupation. "In its cold, gray barrenness it is the dreariest region we have gone through. Here, however, at Bethel the bleak and rocky aspect of the region begins to disappear, and to be replaced (going north) by richer and richer signs of cultivation."—J. Just on the south edge of this desolate region where it passes into the better territory north of Jerusalem, Ramah, the fortress height, was built by Baasha. (See notes, pp. 95, 169.)

Hauran, it was wealthy, picturesque, fertile, and magnificent. Nearly all the features which realized the glowing descriptions of the promised land, were comprised in this one of the two parts into which it was now divided.[4] The "milk and honey," the "glory of the land," was secured by Israel in the disruption. On the other hand, influences that would foster indulgence and profligacy surrounded its inhabitants: their territory melted, with no obstructing barrier, into the idolatrous Syrian communities on the one side, and was in free communication with the Tyrian settlements upon the other. Intercourse with both these neighbours could not be hindered; and soon accordingly the resulting corruption begotten by these two causes became so intolerable, that the better spirits living in the country at the time of the disruption were obliged to leave it, and to seek for themselves and for their children a refuge from its ruinous influence in the southern kingdom, which now, in consequence, became additionally strengthened.[5]

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[4] We are liable to be misled by the maps in respect to the relative dominions of the northern and southern kingdoms. Including the wilderness pasture country, on which towns were now erected, and the mountain valleys of Edom, over which the Jewish monarchs had, until the time of Jehoram, absolute control, the southern kingdom was as extensive as the northern, and far more secure. The Philistines also were, until a later period, their tributaries, while the subjugated countries belonging to Israel soon threw off their allegiance.

[5] "It was the king of Israel, not the king of Judah, who was anxious to fortify Ramah. Indeed, the latter did his best to frustrate the efforts of Baasha, and succeeded, apparently not desirous of having Ramah converted into a place of strength, though it should be in his own keeping. How is this to be explained? By this circumstance:—that, in consequence of the subversion by Jeroboam of the Church of God, 'the priests and Levites that were in all *Israel* resorted unto Judah out of all their coasts,' and 'after them out of *all the tribes of Israel*, such as set their hearts to seek

In this general description of the separated provinces, we have the key and explanation of much of the history that was transacted in them. Indeed, it may be said that no part of the sacred history receives fuller illustration from the physical characteristics and relations of its framework than that does which records the fortunes of the two neighbouring kingdoms into which the vast territory of David and Solomon was now divided. Any one, considering the nature of the two countries, their local relations and neighbourhood, the different influences that were working on their respective occupants, might have predicted the general course of events which transpired in the history of each of them, as each went on directly in its own path, and as they affected one another.

As respects the southern kingdom, however, its position and prospects cannot be understood without adverting to two additional peculiarities of its conditions, viz. its relation to the Edomite power, and to the Philistine communities of the low country. Both added largely to the wealth of Judah, and especially the first, by the command which it gave them of the commerce in the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. The second supplied the granaries of the kingdom; though, in the outset of its separate history, David's great error of policy in not occupying those rich corn lands with

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the Lord God of their fathers; so they strengthened the kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, strong.' These righteous citizens the son of Nebat and his ungodly successors were condemned to lose. Hence the natural solicitude of *Israel* to put a stop to the alarming drainage of all that was virtuous out of their borders. And hence, too, the no less natural solicitude of Judah to remove this fortification, Judah being desirous that no obstacle, however small, should be opposed to the influx of those virtuous Israelites who would be the strength of any nation wherein they settled."—Blunt's *Scrip. Coinc.* pp. 185–187.

his own people was severely visited upon his grandson. The Philistines, as David knew, were to have been expelled; and in the outset of his reign, he had power to remove them. But it was convenient to retain them there as tributaries, and to receive their forced supplies from their broad rich fields of corn. Those heavy loads, which he and his successor saw with such satisfaction coming up through the passes on the other side of the Rephaim plain to be stowed in the granaries of Jerusalem, were, however, dearly paid for by Rehoboam. Had the Hebrews themselves occupied those low grounds, as it was intended they should, and as they might have done, an invasion from Egypt would have been well nigh impossible. For then, every position which gave access into Palestine could have been defended; and the supplies of the invaders, exhausted by the long desert march, could not have been replenished without great difficulty. As it was, the Philistines naturally welcomed and provisioned the invader who was on his way to the chastisement of their scorned and hated lords. The Temple was stripped and plundered of the gold which Solomon had lavished on it, and by those whose splendour he had striven to emulate. On their walls too, even on the very structure of which he had heard, and indeed on which probably he had gazed with guilty admiration, his own son and people were sculptured in an attitude of base subjection to the kings whose alliance he had criminally sought; and, following those whom they should instead have taught and led, the Jewish people were marked and stigmatized, even to this very day, as an object of their scorn and their contempt.[6]

[6] On the south-west side of the wall of Karnak, an accurate represen-

The effects of this disaster, however, were only temporary, and indeed it was the only serious calamity which the southern kingdom met with during the earlier generations of its separate existence. It enjoyed that large measure of prosperity which might have been looked for when the circumstances above enumerated are distinctly considered. The mere loss of wealth which resulted from the Egyptian invasion was soon repaired from the Edomite commerce, and from the willing contribution of the new immigrants from the northern kingdom. The native energy of the people, their high-toned valour, was favoured and promoted by the physical conditions of their abode, as well as by its moral influence and associations, around which the memories of many centuries had already gathered. Moreover, it was fenced round and secured on every side, so that it might be regarded as a fortress settlement.[7] On the north, indeed, only a bare mountain ridge separated it from the sister kingdom; but on this side no special peril need be apprehended; while on the other sides of the main province of the Judean territory,

tation of the sculpture, from Rosselini's *Monumenti*, is given by Kenrick (*Egypt*, ii. p. 349). Among the other "turreted ovals" round the necks of the captives behind the king, who is represented here, as always, of gigantic size, Champollion believed he had deciphered the names of Mahanaim, Beth-horon, and Megiddo.—See *Extracts from Journal.*

[7] This peculiarity of the southern kingdom has an important bearing on its after history. Its nucleus was the southern half of the block described in note p. 3, and this, when the passes leading up to it were manned by resolute defenders, was absolutely impregnable. Israel, on the other hand, was exposed to invasion on all sides. There had never been any security for the Land of the Hebrews on that side of it, except in extending its boundaries so as to include Phœnicia as far as the north of Lebanon, and the whole territory west of the Euphrates; in other words, to maintain as its limits those which had been Divinely assigned to it.—Compare pp. 127, 128.

it was only accessible through hill passes easily defended; and as for its outlying territory southward, fortresses had been built for its protection there, which were sufficient to keep in check the desert plunderers, and to protect the caravans which passed over that ground on to their several destinations in Judea itself, or in the Phœnician harbours on the north. And, in fact, its means of power and defences on this side were shortly seen in the repulse of the vast body of assailants which ventured to attack it from the south.[8]

Accordingly, through the earlier years of its separate history, Judah flourished and was prosperous. This fact was manifested by the quietness with which its hereditary sceptre passed down through the posterity of David, while the northern kingdom was rent by civil faction and rebellion. The inferiority of Israel to Judah was made apparent in the only contest between them which took place in this period. But the result of this battle was only one of many indications that the northern kingdom was continually growing weaker, as well as more corrupt after the division.

This might have been expected when we more distinctly consider its local relations with the heathen kingdoms in

[8] Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 184) identifies Zerah, the Ethiopian king who was overcome by Asa, with Osorkon I., who was the successor of Shishak. But Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 378) doubts this, and suggests that he was an Asiatic Ethiopian, for this name belonged to a race which occupied the coasts of the southern ocean from Abyssinia to India. Dr. Kitto suggests that Zerah and his troops, having been in Shishak's pay at the time of his expedition against Judea, had remained in nomade occupation of the wilderness pastures; and this is probable from the account of the spoil (2 Chron. xiv. 15) which Asa took. (Compare chap. xxi. 16.) In this case the Bedouin tribes of the peninsula would act with him as allies for the expulsion of the intruders, and this would further consolidate his power.

its neighbourhood. In absolute contrast with Judah, its territory passed into and blended with them on all sides.[9] Gathering signs of danger from this neighbourhood, as has already been remarked, began to show themselves in Solomon's reign. Even his power in the outlying settlements of the Hebrew kingdom in Hamath and the Syrian desert north of the Damascene plain was weakened; and of course, in his son's reign, after the disruption, it was a necessary consequence that the troops which had manned his garrisons in those settlements should be withdrawn. In fact, that event seems to have been followed by a cessation of the Jewish dominion over all the country north of the sources of the Jordan, and east of the territory which Joshua had assigned to the tribes on the other side of that river. This acknowledgment of weakness was immediately followed by reprisals on the part of the tribes of that part of Syria, for their late subjection. The eastern branches of the nation were naturally the first to suffer in this vindictive warfare. Throughout the broad plains of the Hauran, the chariots and cavalry of Benhadad now poured themselves in the destructive ravages of eastern invasion over the fastnesses of Gad and of Manasseh. And soon they might be expected on the west of the river, coming across the Jordan fords, over the great plain, and

[9] Locally, in fact, it formed part of the Syrian kingdom, and Damascus was the natural capital of the entire province of the plain country east of the Jordan, as it is at the present time. On the western edge of it this plain rises so as to present to a spectator on the other side of the river a mountainous wall along the whole eastern line of the Jordan valley. And on to this higher ground the trans-Jordanic tribes appear to have retired, being kept in subjection there by the troops in the hill fortresses on the east of them until they were finally removed.

through the Manasseh passes, into the rich valleys of Samaria.

It was in foresight and fear of this danger that Jezreel and Samaria were built.[10] The first of these is at the head of the valley which leads up from the northern fords of Jordan, and it commands the only accessible approach for war chariots from the east of the river, on to, and south of, the great plain; and the second, built on a fenced height, impregnable in those days, served for the protection of Shechem and its neighbourhood, if an invader should have succeeded in forcing his way into the heart of the country. But the dangers against which these protections were erected, were not the most imminent by which the welfare of Israel was threatened. These were found in the intimacy of that alliance which was now formed between the Hebrews and the Tyrian community, with whom their local relations necessarily connected them on the other side of their northern boundary. Did this alliance, which was ratified by a royal marriage, provide that, as mercenary troops, the Hebrews should furnish men for the defence of the great commercial settlements, which, in

[10] The sites of both these evidently mark them as intended for fortress cities. Every one who has seen Samaria will agree with Dr. Robinson that "it is difficult to find in Palestine a situation of equal strength, fertility, and beauty combined." Herod turned it into one of his strongest fortresses, and fixed on it a large garrison of veteran soldiers. (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 8, and *Bell. Jud.* i. 21.) Jezreel, at the head of the valley leading down from Esdrelon to the Jordan fords, was built on one of the mounds rising from the plain, which was evidently chosen for its strength, as well as on account of its central position. On the north-east it has a steep rocky descent of about 100 feet. On this side was the Migdol, the "*tower* in Jezreel," which, it has been suggested, may explain Herodotus' account (ii. 159) of the contest near this place, in which Josiah lost his life when he went out to oppose the advance of Neco.

return for this advantage, paid them in remittances of the produce which they imported from the distant west?[11]

In support of this conjecture it may be noted that on the first occasion of the Syrian's invasion there was valour enough in the Hebrew forces to drive him back: in this instance he was repulsed. On other grounds, however, the conjecture is natural and reasonable. Except on the basis of some such reciprocal advantage, it is difficult to account for the closeness of the alliance. Corn enough could be had from those unfailing granaries northwards in the Black Sea, which was now explored by the Phœnician ships. Men for the defence of their stores and arsenals were what the Tyrians most needed. If, indeed, the Israelites furnished these, if Hebrew sentinels kept guard before the great stores of the Tyrian and Sidonian wealth, the intimacy of the alliance between the two communities, and the consequent extent of the corruptions of Jewish life and worship, are well explained. Moreover, the ruined temples encircling Mount Hermon were vast and solid, and always magnificently placed; there was an imposing grandeur over

[11] According to both Pliny and Ptolemy, the Bay of Acre was included in Phœnicia, in which case there was no natural boundary separating it from the Israelite province of Zebulon, which naturally melted into this heathen settlement. Farther north there were easy openings into the sea-plain from the Galilean cities (Van de Velde, vol. i. pp. 159–240), and the great road from Tyre to Damascus passed underneath the hill of Dan. The ruins of the Baal temples, which formerly existed in a kind of belt or circle, around Hermon (Robins, *Bib. Res.* iii. p. 432) "enable one to realize in some measure the fascinating and imposing magnificence of the Baal worship by which the Israelites were so often seduced."—J. We saw an instance of this in the temple of Mejdel, which is excellently described by Mr. Porter (*Damasc.* i. 12, 13).—From the lengthened description of the commerce of the Phœnicians given by Ezekiel (xxvii.), it appears (v. 13; compare Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 651) that trade was largely carried on by them with the corn settlements on the Black Sea.

and around the sombre fanaticism of the Tyrian worship: the shrines of Phœnicia bespeak greatness and largeness of soul in the men who celebrated the worship that was solemnized in them. And then how large was their knowledge of mankind, and of all the extant religious traditions of the earth! All these things would strengthen their intellectual influence over the simple Hebrew, and commend to him the Tyrian superstition. If we imagine one of Baal's priests, under the awful shadow of one of their great temples, conferring with an earnest worshipper of Jehovah according to the Mosaic ritual, it is easy to understand how he would be perplexed and shaken, and finally seduced by the testimonies of wide-spread primæval ceremonies and traditions, or by the mystic religious philosophy evolved from them, which the Tyrian proselytizer would set before him. It was a perilous emergency of the nation's soul. And that which was needed was divinely supplied for Israel's protection from this new insidious danger. Single-hearted, clear-sighted, *original* men, strong naturally and intrepid, and quickened by influences from above, were raised up, such as Elijah of Gilead,[12] under circumstances which had exempted them from the influence of the seductive sophistry of Tyre. Amidst the primitive habits of Eastern Palestine, in the Gilead woodlands, associated with the simple hardy shepherds, amongst the village

[12] There is a curious ambiguity in the text (אֵלִיָּהוּ הַתִּשְׁבִּי מִתֹּשָׁבֵי גִלְעָד), which may be rendered as in A. V., or "Elijah the Tishbite, from Tishbi of Gilead." The latter meaning is adopted by the LXX. Kiel (*in loc.*) infers from the peculiarity of the expression, the "foreign origin" of Elijah. But see note in Ewald's *Gesch.* iii. p. 198.

patriarchs, the puritans of Israel—he had gained a vital hold of the first principles of Jehovah's worship, and an immediate witness of The Spirit was his assurance and guarantee concerning the source from which Moses had derived them. And so, although, perhaps, unable to untwine the web of sophistry that had inveigled so many of his countrymen, and to put his finger exactly on the spot where truth, gradually perverted and debased, became unmitigated falsehood, he was qualified for effectively resisting the incoming tide of devilish error and superstition, and for rescuing the souls of his people from a shameful death and a foul grave amidst the vile and cruel abominations of the Phœnician idolatry.

One sees him at the head of the third and greatest rank of "the goodly fellowship." The two which preceded him had done their work and passed away. Of these the first had been acknowledged in a regal, or rather imperial, position in virtue of its prophetic gifts; and the second was in recognized co-operation with the sovereign power. And now the third series, headed by Elijah, comes forward in an exclusively remonstrant character: they were "born as men of strife in the earth," and appointed to discharge the office of protest and rebuke. We may here pause over the chief occasion on which that office was discharged by this mighty champion of the Divine cause. The place was worthy of the greatness of the crisis, which was the greatest among many that have signalized it. Nature has there representatives from all her departments to hear Jehovah's controversy with idolatrous man. Sea, and river, and plain, and mountain; great memories in the past, great occasions in the future—all made Esdraelon the fitting

scene and platform of the momentous debate that Elijah made to resound thereon. From every point over that 100 square miles of surface, those interested in the issue of this great argument could watch the descent of the appointed fiery response, and learn, for no less an issue was suspended on the controversy, whether the Ruler of the universe was a Father or a Tyrant; to be approached with loving confidence by children to whom He was reconciled, or with dread by crouching slaves, as One who was dark, relentless, and tyrannical.

This was the gist of the debate that day on Carmel; and its issue, and Elijah's consequent influence, and the courage which his great deed inspired in the 7,000 "faithful among the faithless," were the means of continuing Israel in the place of its election, and of protracting, for a while longer, its opportunity of accomplishing the mission for which it had been set apart.

For it was already in imminent danger of becoming entirely identified with one of the heathen kingdoms into which, except on its southern borders, its possessions passed and blended, since the Hebrew yoke had been taken off from David's northern and eastern conquests. This was the inevitable result of its not occupying up to their utmost limits all the provinces of the kingdom in its appointed boundaries. The "entrance of Hamath," the "wilderness," and the "river," would have been a secure barrier against those invasions which otherwise were sure to result in the conquest and depravation of the chosen people. Kept within their assigned limits, they were guarded securely, while the training was completed, whereby they were to fulfil their great mission as the patterns and regenerators of man-

kind. Allow to any of the inferior eastern races[13] which filled those spare grounds ascendancy on the west of the Euphrates, and where was the barrier to stay their gradual encroachments on the settlements of the eastern tribes, and the depraving influences of which such encroachments would be the source? This danger was actually realized. The Syrians continually gained on the Israelites, advancing westwards and southwards, until they were stayed by the long, deep ravine which formed the northern boundary of Moab. All the fortified heights were in their possession, and through the depravity of Israel, which the influence of Elijah was counteracting, its entire subjection appeared inevitable, for this same victorious power had crossed the Jordan valley, taken Jezreel, and invested the fortress city of Samaria.

Had it not been for the great power which Elijah exercised in reanimating the spirits of the Hebrews and their faith, the doom of Israel was then sealed. Now, however, the invader was repulsed, and with their deliverance revivals of a better spirit were awakened in the people. The deadly influence of the old Phœnician superstition was removed; and the consciousness of freedom, the rights of the people as the citizens of a kingdom whose king

[13] They were descendants of the Hamites who came through this country in the first migration from the primæval settlement. Some of them would abandon the enterprise, and rest and settle on the way, and the most inferior members of the race would in this manner be found settled in nearest proximity to the starting-point. The most enterprising went the farthest, and by them Egypt was first peopled. Their capital was on the Euphrates. (See note, p. 2.) In the time of the Hebrew empire they were generally distinguished—as their successors on the same ground are now—as an outcast and semi-barbarous race. Even the Syrian kingdom, founded by the best representatives of them, never took rank with the advanced empires of those days, su as the Lydian, Egyptian, and Assyrian.

acknowledged that he reigned by the grace of God, were no longer in danger of being violated, as they had previously been. We have a witness of this fact in the stratagem that was necessary before the inheritance of Naboth, the Jewish yeoman, could be wrested from him; and we see it also in the stern testimony against the wickedness of that act which Elijah was commissioned to deliver.

This testimony was the more emphatic, since it was uttered in full view of the mountain where he had, years before, borne his great witness against the idolatry of Baal.[14] He there spake to Ahab with the more emphasis and impressiveness, since he had just come back from his lonely, meditative wanderings amidst scenes that must have enhanced his attachment to the law of his fathers, and made him more intolerant of every breach of it. He had just returned from his long pilgrimage to Sinai. Months had been passed by him in austere seclusion, close to the very spot where, amidst lightnings and trumpet thunders, the Law was given. Then his route thither, and in return, had led him across the Paran uplands, on which, under Moses' own inspection, the law had been more strictly observed than ever since. The solemn impressions from that journey and that seclusion were deep on Elijah's

[14] The place of this meeting, 1 Kings xxi. 16–18, commanded the whole scene of Elijah's great controversy with the Baal priests upon Mount Carmel. Tabor, and Gilboa, and the scene of Gideon's victory, were on either side, and in the background; and we may conceive the stern aspect of the prophet to have been raised and spiritualized by his long seclusion in Horeb, and by the solemn teaching (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 136) which he had received there (1 Kings xix. 9–14). Altogether the scene was most impressive! and it so wrought on one of the two young men who were with Ahab in his chariot as his attendants (Josephus, *Antiq.* ix. 6), that its influence on him was as strong as ever twenty-five years afterwards, when the denunciation of the prophet was fulfilled (2 Kings ix. 25, 26).

soul; the small still voice was yet whispering to him when he encountered and rebuked Ahab on that day. The place itself, the prophet's recent pilgrimage, the criminality of the transaction—all conspired to humble the guilty monarch; so that after all it seemed as if the dread forebodings of the prophet as to his nation's apostasy, would never be realized, as they were, in fact, postponed.

Only postponed, however; though for awhile it seemed as if the anticipated evils might be escaped altogether. One of the most hopeful signs of this possibility was seen in the alliance of the northern monarch with one of the best kings of Judah; one in whom the spirit and the prosperity of David seemed to be revived. Again the royal ensigns of David, floated in the highways of Samaria, and there, in the very palace hard by the Baal temple built upon those steeps, and probably in the hearing of Jezebel herself, the royal influence was exerted in favour of a prophet of Jehovah. There was also the proposal of a marriage connection between the families. As Jehoshaphat rode up through that rich garden territory, through the orchards and olive-groves of Shechem, the project suggested itself to him, or was looked on by him favourably, which, along with the recent revival occasioned by Elijah's influence, opened out high prospects of union and of restored prosperity. And if, besides, they could expel the Syrian garrison from that fortress height, there almost in view from the hills above him, might not the yoke be lifted off from the eastern tribes, and a mighty re-advance made towards the recovery of his ancestor's dominion?

We know how this project ended. And now for awhile we may return to survey the fortunes of the southern

kingdom. The upper boundary of it having been secured by his Israelitish alliance, Jehoshaphat was free to carry forward his plans for the internal reform and improvement of his dominions. Being combined together closely in loyal attachment to the monarch, and strengthened and ennobled by his example, Judah held its position securely.[15] The Philistine tributaries brought up their contributions; the nomadic borderers were tranquil; the commerce through Edom was undisturbed; the rock city itself, garrisoned by the soldiers of Jehoshaphat, was quiet under the yoke imposed on it. One attack only from the east, on the part of the Moabites, and the Bedouins of Ammon, was made on the Israelitish kingdom, probably in revenge for the part Jehoshaphat had taken in conjunction with his northern ally, and his tributary chief in Edom. They assembled on the narrow shores of the Dead Sea, and they climbed the steep Engedi Pass, and made their way across the wild and broken surface of the Judean wilderness. Jehoshaphat and his men looked from their high watch-tower on the Tekoah hill, and their spirits rose when they surveyed the battle-ground, which had been the haunt for so many years of their great king, and the scene of his

[15] The extent and wealth of the southern kingdom were as great as that of the northern. (See note, p. 169.) But the nucleus of it, on which the responsibility of its defence and security rested, was, in comparison, very inconsiderable. All depended on the men that occupied the fortress settlements of Judah and of Benjamin. They furnished the troops for the garrisons of Edom, of the wilderness frontier, of Philistia, and of the various points of access into the country (2 Chron. xvii. 13-18). From this point of view we have the means of estimating the strength and valour of the southern kingdom at this time: its position, in relation to its dependencies, may be illustrated by that in which our own country now stands to ours (2 Chron. xx. 29, 30: comp. p. 189).

frequent deliverances. That was not the ground on which warriors used to the broad spaces of the desert, might safely venture. Every step was amidst hidden caverns and through the clefts and excavations in which David's soldiers lived during the time of their border warfare. Nor were they now unoccupied. Surprised at every step by the ambushments there, the undisciplined hordes were thrown into increasing confusion; and soon, turning their arms against one another, they fled. Their ornaments, stripped off that their flight through the ravines, and down the steep Engedi Pass, might not be impeded, and their useless arms —fell into the hands of the pursuers, who "were three days in gathering the spoil, it was so much."[16]

This conquest, without a battle, secured the tranquillity of Jehoshaphat during the remainder of his reign. With his subjects he vigilantly maintained a strong guard, which was needful to repulse those dangerous, though numerically small, communities that were on the east of his dominions. And how much had depended on the united and loyal spirit of his people, was clearly enough seen in the reign of his successors; for then began the downfall of the kingdom, in the sudden alienation from it of its possessions in Edom. This, of course, was followed by a cessation of the Red Sea commerce. The Ophir ships now lay idle in the ports of Elath, or were manned by Idumean, instead of Hebrew and Phœnician, mariners. Jewish merchants suddenly disappeared from the ports of Arabia and of the Persian Gulf, and from the marts of Hindostan. Imports from

[16] For an excellent and vivid description of the scene of this defeat, see Van de Velde, vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.—Compare Wolcott in *Bib. Sac.* p. 43.

those countries ceased. The long strings of camels, with their bales of costly merchandise, were no longer seen in the desert valley, or winding through the Judean hills, with their rich consignments to the merchant princes of Jerusalem and Tyre. Nothing but the most perfect union and vigilance could have supported their prosperity, and when these were withdrawn, it now, with an overwhelming influence on the fortunes of Judah, declined. The Philistine corn-growers seized on their advantage, and they possibly were helped by the Phœnicians, who had no longer any motive, now the Red Sea merchandise was stopped, for cultivating amity with Judah. They subsidized the Bedouins of the western desert, who were hanging on the suburbs of Gaza, and thus strengthened, they came up the hills in an unexpected foray, and even pillaged Jerusalem itself.[17] The northern alliance, which was now in its most perfect intimacy, enabled them to repel these nearer onsets, and to reoccupy the fenced cities on their borders. Yet Judah was now shorn of half its strength; the royal family was almost exterminated; overwhelming pecuniary loss came on those who were at all dependent on the Edomite commerce; and few soldiers could be spared to accompany Ahaziah in the new endeavour of the northern monarch to succour the eastern tribes by expelling the Syrian garrisons which still continued entrenched upon the Gilead heights. And yet worse disasters were in store. But now it is needful, in order to recount them, that we

[17] "Moreover the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines and of the Arabians," *i.e.* of the Bedouins, who were no doubt employed as mercenary troops by the wealthy cities of Philistia, as was the case (Arrian, lib. ii. 25) during the siege of Gaza by Alexander.

should first return for awhile to survey the fortunes of the northern kingdom, which was still unsuccessfully endeavouring to expel the Syrian garrison from its main position on the other side of Jordan.

While the army was still investing it, there came up to those towered woodland heights one of the young men of the prophet, and his message was to the vehement, daring, fearless man, who was there in command of the troops that had been driving back the invading Damascenes far northward, beyond that high range, to their embowered city. Rough, unscrupulous, yet capable, for his own ends, of self-constraint, Jehu had been indicated to Elijah as the man who might be employed to turn the tide and current of affairs. The corruption of the nation had brought it into circumstances which needed his rough, unscrupulous intervention, and his fitness for his work was immediately recognized. They *hasted* to proclaim him as their king. Then they marched down to the river banks, and soon he was in his chariot, driving through the ford opposite the valley which led up past the city of Jezreel, to Esdraelon.[18] The watchman on the city tower descried his impetuous approach. A messenger, doubtless, with tidings from the camp! And yet who but the captain himself could drive

[18] The town of Ramoth Gilead (the Gilead Heights) has been identified with es-Salt, which is built on the declivity of a hill that stands surrounded by some of the loftiest eminences of the Gilead range. The castle, probably on the site of the fortress of which Jehu was in command, is on the summit of the hill. There is a steep road running up from the Jordan valley by the side of the mountain overhanging the strait at the head of which es-Salt is placed. Down this road we may imagine Jehu hastening to the chariot station in the valley, and thence driving to the Jordan fords at the foot of the valley of Beisan, having crossed which his approach was discerned by the watchman on the tower of Jezreel.

so furiously over that steep, rough ground? Soon his own stern deeds of blood—blood in vengeance for that of the yeoman murdered in defence of his ancestral heritage—completed the intelligence. There, in the distance, was Carmel, and Kishon was rolling its once reddened stream into the sea before him. And why should there not be another sacrifice to Baal? Again he drives his chariot furiously; and, in two hours more, they in Samaria see him descending the pass through the hills enclosing their valley to the north. Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, is with him. Surely the hour of supremacy for Baal must have come, when the bravest warrior, and the austerest saint in Israel, are approaching to render their homage to the Tyrian God. Alas, they came as messengers of blood, and of self-willed violence! Had it indeed been a sacrifice on Jehu's part—had that great broad hill been an altar of true self-devotion, and had Jehu offered up his victims in resolved, although sorrowful, execution of his country's law against idolaters, then the fortunes of Israel had been different from what they were.[19] One so strong and so self-governed in all his purposes, could not, however, do otherwise than raise his nation's power and courage. Yet still the design for which the prophet summoned him was unfulfilled. The soul-poison of Phœnician influence was not expelled from Israel; the calves were yet standing in Dan and Bethel. Nor did he adopt the course which

[19] He should have executed the law against idolaters (Deut. xvii. 2-5) upon the Baal worshippers, instead of adopting the self-willed act of violence which he actually executed (2 Kings x. 18-25). This and his failure in removing Jeroboam's calves (*ib.* 29) almost completely frustrated the purpose of his calling.

appears to have been contemplated at his calling, in counteracting the now ascendent influence of Ahab's family in Judea. Had he undertaken this enterprise, there were those in the southern kingdom who would so have seconded him in it that the result might have been an union of the two sceptres: the Hebrews might have been again one people; and, being one, they might yet have covered the whole territory assigned to them, and Israel's mission in the world might yet have been fulfilled.

One more opportunity for this had been given, and it was the last. Jehu failed to rise to the level of his vocation. He did not attempt the enlargement of the dominion to which he had succeeded in his own country, and he left the godly party in the south to fight their own battles without any aid from him. The two kingdoms were again entirely separated, and they could no longer withstand the obvious policy which led the power on the east to advance towards, and to absorb them. Why should this narrow slip of mountain territory, inhabited by enfeebled and divided tribes, rather than nations, at this time, bar the great monarch of Damascus from his command of the coast, and from free, unhindered communication with the ports of Egypt, and the now rising nations of the West? Hazael asked this question, and he accordingly formed his purpose. But his successful accomplishment of it was only temporary; he was compelled to return; and from the lowest estate into which they had been reduced during their whole monarchy, the Hebrews once more rose into comparative independence and prosperity. The maritime nations on the west were again subjected; Judah reconquered its Edomite possessions; and Israel, stretching itself northward, recovered

even some of the subjected provinces of David, which, since the days of Solomon, had been independent of it.[20]

These successes may in part be explained by the menacing attitude which was now assumed towards Syria by the power east of the Euphrates. But even when that fact is taken into account, we have, in this part of their history, a most impressive testimony of the energy and valour of the Hebrew people, and of their ability to accomplish even yet all which their calling required from them. That which was now done, was done in the southern kingdom by the few thousands who could occupy the narrow height, thirty miles by twenty, between Ramah and the southern descents into the wilderness; and in the north the nucleus of the power that so wonderfully expanded itself for a few years, was spread over about the same extent of richer, but not more advantageous country, as far as the Great Plain. It was from such narrow centres of territory that these brave men spread themselves, so as to absorb all the neighbouring communities.

But against each other their hostility increased, so that the same hilly ridge, from which we look southward and northward over the two kingdoms, was again, as once before in the time of the early separation, the scene of sanguinary conflicts between Israel and Judah. War took place between them, but it could no longer be called fratricidal war, for the pillage of the Temple made it too evident that the northern kingdom was now entirely heathenized. The necessary effect of the neighbouring idolatries upon Israel was now witnessed when those hosts met in their deadly

[20] 2 Kings xiii. 22-25; xiv 7 25 2 Chron. xxiv. 23, 24; xxv. 11, 12.

conflict. The idol standards on the one side, the war-cry of the Lord of Hosts upon the other, were tokens that only the southern kingdom—which only had continued isolated, as the whole nation should have been—remained unpolluted by the idolatries and superstitions against which it was the office of the whole nation to witness and to contend.

Thus the history of the two kingdoms reached the climax and issue of that course which, as was said, might have been predicted in its main features by one who fully considered the necessary consequences, arising from their respective positions, of their separation from one another. And now that followed which would equally come in the view of all who looked beyond their limits, and computed the necessary progress of events according to the laws of that philosophy of history which might have been learned from watching the vicissitudes of the Babel monarchies during the twelve centuries that had elapsed since Abraham went out from them.

One of these monarchies now claims our attention. This was Assyria, which at this time represented, on the east of Israel, that Babel system of human life which, on the south, was exemplified in Egypt. This great empire had grown into its present overwhelming vastness by the continued working of that same principle which Abraham had sorrowfully recognized when he received his summons to depart from one of its provinces, and to establish a nation which should protest against its evils. Idolatry had thickly interposed its obstructions between God and man, and tyranny, in certain and unfailing sequel, had come after it. All the neighbouring tribes were absorbed in the central community, whose seat had formerly been in

the neighbourhood of Abraham's home at Babylon, but was now established, Babylon having become tributary, in still mightier strength, and in more magnificent pomp at Nineveh. Strong and restless, and with the native desire for aggrandizement, the great king had long before looked westwards towards Southern Syria, as the natural direction of the encroaching progress which is the law of communities like his.[21] There was the gem of the East, the pearl set in emeralds, Damascus, and beyond were the great seats of the navies of the West. South of those settlements were the Hebrews, a brave and hardy race, whose ancestors had been natives of his kingdom. How desirable to secure them, at all events, as dependent allies, on the outposts of his territory in that direction, which would then be safe against the incursions of another Rameses from the Nile valley, if, indeed, ultimately his own dominion might not then advance and absorb Egypt itself within its range.

Such were the counsels of the statesmen and officers and military chiefs in those Assyrian halls, girt round with the

[21] According to Sir H. Rawlinson's translation of the famous Shergat cylinder, Tiglath Pileser I. (about 1100 B.C.) claims to have extended his conquests over a large part of Cappadocia, of the Median and Armenian mountains, and of Syria along the course of the Euphrates. His successors do not appear to have held these conquests in the mountain country, for effective operations in which the troops bred on the Mesopotamian plains were not well fitted. The Median and Armenian mountaineers, and the Highlanders of Asia Minor, were more formidable than the scattered Syrian tribes across the river in the open country on the south-west. This was accordingly the direction which the Assyrian conquests naturally took. The wealth of the country, and its divided condition, invited the conqueror's advance; and there was an additional motive, in the defence which a command over it gave against aggression from Egypt, as besides it might further serve as helpful in any contemplated invasion of that country.

symbols of intellect and strength, where the great monarch then planned and wrought. And soon there issued forth, on that same line of march along which Abraham had journeyed, one of those vast swarms of warlike men, by which the Syrian garrison in Tadmor, and the surrounding tribes kept in awe by it, and then Damascus itself, and the outlying cities of the Hauran, and, in fact, the whole of the Syrian territory—were subjugated and occupied. This was probably the movement, in consequence of which the yoke was lifted off, as we have seen, from the whole of the northern kingdom. It would necessarily result from such an invasion that the Syrian troops would be withdrawn from the cities and fortresses immediately to the east of Jordan, and hence Israel, for a few years longer, was numbered among the nations. The same cause had also left Judah at leisure to repair the injuries and losses it had sustained on its western and southern border, and in some degree, of which it is impossible to speak with certainty and definiteness, to re-establish itself in Idumea. Syria itself appears to have been entirely subjected to Assyria. But when the great king looked on the long mountain chain of Palestine beyond that province, he deemed it sufficient for his purpose to hold that in tributary dependence. This was enough to secure him against Egypt; and his experience of mountain warfare, east and north of his home dominions, would make him at that time unwilling needlessly to try the valour of the brave race which occupied it: the Jewish army, especially on its own native hills, was not one which he cared to encounter at that time.[22]

There is reason to believe that both the northern and southern king-

For the present the actual occupation of the Syrian territory, with his hand of power on the provinces of Ephraim and Judah, was sufficient. Soon, however, he was forced to lighten his yoke upon Damascus, and to withdraw the troops which were guarding his new conquests, for the defence of his own territory at home. This was probably in consequence of a descent on the Tigris provinces by the strong people that occupied the mountain country upon their eastern borders. Hence, as we may conjecture, the Syrian king was once more free to resume his conquests on the west and south of his dominions; and once more, therefore, we see the kingdom of Israel brought into submission to his yoke. It again became one of the Syrian provinces. And now upon Judah fell the danger which had long been imminent; for Pekah, the subject chief of Israel, is seen combined with his Syrian master in an expedition against Ahaz.

They who knew the spirit of the country best, and its resources, human and divine, believed that there was power enough in Judah to resist this mighty coalition, and to maintain themselves until another turn in the Assyrian fortune and policy should again put constraint

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doms had become tributaries to Assyria long before any direct intimation of the fact is given in Scripture.—Layard's *Nineveh*, p. 634. Jehu, "the son of Omri," is mentioned on the black obelisk in the British Museum as one of those who paid tribute to Shalmaneser, the monarch whose deeds are recorded on that monument. He reigned when Jehu was king of Israel; and it has been suggested that "the son of (Khumri) Omri" may refer to the origin of Jehu's capital, or that he may have been descended from Omri on his mother's side. At all events, there can be no doubt that Jehu was the tributary of Shalmaneser, as, again, Ahaz appears to have acknowledged that he bore this character in the message which he sent to Tiglath Pileser II. (2 Kings xvi. 7).

on the invaders. And in fact, Rezin and Pekah were at first unsuccessful. The combined Syrian and Israelite forces directed their attacks in vain against Jerusalem, which then, as afterwards, proved itself to be impregnable while its defenders were of one accord. But when Ahaz ventured on a pursuit of his retreating enemies on the open fields north of the city, there was defeat and loss. His army was destroyed, many thousands of his people were taken captive, and after these disasters came the loss of the Edomite dependencies. Following up his plans for weakening Judah, the Syrian monarch expelled the Jew merchants from Elath; and Idumea was restored in its integrity to its native princes.[23] Still, and notwithstanding all these calamities, the Judean patriots enjoined trust and patience upon Ahaz. The true mission of the people was now disclosed to them by Isaiah, as it had not been in any former period; and, in the light of it, the monarch was besought to maintain his ground, and guard his sacred trust with the means assigned to him; and, above all, not to apply for that succour from the great potentate of Nineveh, which could only be obtained at the cost of his nation's independence.

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[23] This is the most natural "harmony" of the accounts given in 2 Kings xvi., 2 Chron. xxviii., and in those chapters (vii., viii., ix.) of Isaiah which relate to this period. The message of Isaiah to Ahaz (vii. 3-9) was probably delivered to the king, before the siege, when he was in the "fuller's ground," examining the state of the fortifications, and of the reservoirs (which were there for the use of the fullers), in the prospect of an attack. "The 'causeway' which led to the fulling ground was a convenient place for the purpose both of Ahaz and of Isaiah, just as it suited Rabshakeh (Isa. xxxvi. 2), when it was his object both to reconnoitre the ground for a siege, and also to harangue the people on the walls."—Strachey's *Heb. Polit.* 88.

Had that counsel been followed, the Hebrew kingdom might yet, under the leadership of the wise and brave men who were living in it, have risen to its appointed place, and have accomplished its national mission in the world. Alas! Ahaz despised the prophet's warning. His abject petition was conceded by Tiglath Pileser: but at what a cost! For now, along with the Syrian population, all the subjected tribes on the east of Jordan, with the inhabitants of the provinces beyond Esdraelon—Zebulon, Asher, and Naphtali—were led into exile to the cities of the Tigris. Nothing was left to Israel, except the small province of Samaria; and on this, heavy tribute was imposed.

Nor was the condition of the southern kingdom less humiliating. There we should have seen a procession of state—the king himself the central figure in it—going forth from Jerusalem, in long progress, to Damascus. The great potentate was there, refreshing himself beside the embowered streams of that ancient city; for there was at length no one to dispute his authority from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. Israel was subjected; and now the Hebrew monarch, Ahaz himself, was coming forward with his tribute and submission, on laying down which he deposited the last token of Jewish independence, the closing opportunity for the people—who had once ruled over that very city, and occupied the very throne on which the Assyrian monarch, before whom Ahaz bent, was sitting "to take their place as the guides, and, in the highest sense of the word, as the rulers of mankind.[24]

[24] There is reason to believe, as stated in note, p. 192, that tribute had been *exacted* before from Judah by the Assyrians. But this was voluntarily given by Ahaz, and was accompanied by his personal homage.—Besides the

On that day the fate of the Hebrews as a nation was irrevocably sealed, though five generations more passed away before the fact was openly made known. The faithful patriots in Jerusalem knew it not, and they discharged their own consciences by brave and patient toil, with an ardour which the terrible certainty would have quenched, had it been disclosed to them. It was mercifully hidden; and now, as we consider the narrowness of the territory to which they were at length reduced—Philistia in the hands of a rival power—Edom permanently alienated—nothing but the feeble Samaritan province and the Jordan between themselves and the overwhelming power of the great king—we can see how marvellous was the trust of the brave men who gathered round Hezekiah and his prophet counsellor, within the walls of Zion and Moriah!

It is true they had lately been reinforced by the few faithful remaining in the northern kingdom, who had accepted the Jewish monarch's invitation to his great Passover, and they had strengthened themselves by the solemn influences of that high occasion. Yet how hard they must have struggled against the forebodings of their own sure fate, when the next fatal tidings from the northern provinces reached them! The king of Israel had often turned in thought to the great empire on the south. The laws jealously excluding foreigners from the Egyptian cities were already beginning to be relaxed, and ships

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Assyrian altar (Keil, *Commentar.* in 2 Kings xvi.) which he brought back from Damascus, he is believed to have also introduced at this time into Jerusalem the Assyrian sun and star worship, of which there are traces in 2 Kings xxiii. 11, 12. The "altars on the roof" there mentioned appear to have been built for the adoration of the heavenly bodies. Comp. Zeph. i. 5, and Jer. xix. 13; xxxii. 29.

leaving the coast of Palestine could now anchor opposite Zoan and Memphis. The caravans were continually passing on the old route by Gaza across the desert, and this intercourse was the more frequent, since at this time Egypt probably held possession of Philistia. By these means Hoshea learned the Egyptian dread and hatred of the rival power at Nineveh, and through the same channel he also awakened new apprehensions as to the design of the Assyrian king on Egypt.[25] Emissaries from Samaria passed to and fro, in secret consultation with the statesmen and chiefs of Memphis, who now held out the prospect, if not of deliverance, at least of an advantageous change of masters. But Shalmaneser had vigilant spies, who soon fathomed the meaning and purpose of these communications. The conspiracy was discovered; and soon tidings came unto Jerusalem, that Samaria had fallen after its last siege, and that the sentence of Israel's expulsion from the land was executed. Hezekiah and his subjects learned that their kindred, according to the flesh, were being driven as exiles and captives from their old abodes. From Shechem, and Samaria, and Jezreel, across the fords of the Jordan, on through the broad plains of the Hauran, the vast migration was moving away for ever from the land they had held as unfaithful stewards of the highest trust which a nation could receive.[26] Strangers

[25] The king So, or rather Seveh (סוא), of Egypt, with whom Hoshea was in correspondence, has been identified with the Sevechus of Manetho. — Kenrick's *Egypt*, ii. 369. In about fifty years after his reign Psammetichus introduced Greek mercenaries into Egypt, from which it seems likely that the laws prohibiting foreign vessels from coming into the Mediterranean ports of the country were already relaxed.

[26] This was the second (and final) deportation of the Israelites. Comp. 2 Kings xv. 29, and xvii. 6. It was effected by Sargon, who thus describes

from the distant Median hills, garrisons of the fierce horsemen of Nineveh, now filled the dismantled habitations, and tilled the forfeited estates, the vineyards, and olive-groves, and corn-fields of the exiles. People of foreign usages, of strange and unknown speech, were seen everywhere in the old settlements that were still hallowed, in the estimation of the faithful remnant in the south, by the memories and hopes of better days. And they themselves—what were they now, but tributaries? and their country—what had it become, but an advanced post of the Assyrian realm? and what could its future be, except a scene of strife, a battle-field of the great powers north and south of them, whereof one or other must be over them in irresistible ascendancy? [27]

For the present nothing was possible but quiet acquiescence in the policy which spared them, along with Edom, for the guardianship of the Ninevite territory on the two points where an irruption might be made on it from the dreaded power of Egypt. In his survey westwards of his vast dominions, this was the main point of the Assyrian's anxiety, and he was better secured by those advanced outposts—of which the one commanded the approach from

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the event in his records:—"Samaria I looked at, I captured . . . 27,280 men who dwelt in it I carried away. . . . I appointed a governor over (their country), and continued upon them the tribute of the former people."—See *J. S. Lit.* Oct. 1858. For an interesting account of these "deportations," see Rawlins' *Herod.*, i. 493.

[27] See chap. vii. At first, however, the condition of the southern kingdom was likely to be improved by the deportation of the Israelites, for it now stood in a clearly defined relation to the Assyrian viceroy of Samaria, and was naturally favoured by him, since it served as a position of defence against the neighbouring, and now hostile, power of Egypt. Comp. note in Kiel's *Commen. in* 2 *Kings* xxiii. 15–20, E. T.

the Red Sea, the other all access from the desert—being in the hands of tributary subjects, than in those of viceroys who might tamper with the neighbouring powers. Hence Judah was spared; and those who were most confident and high-spirited amongst the people trusted their nation might yet survive, that its threatened extinction might be averted. Some encouragement was afforded to those hopes when they heard rumours of disaffection in the older provinces of the great king's dominions. The hardy Medians, and the Babylonians in the richest province of his territory, were unquiet. There was hope for Israel in this intelligence. But how was it dissipated when, the sceptre having now been transferred to the ambitious and powerful Sennacherib, they found that Tyre had, at length, fallen, and that a great host was on its way along the low maritime plain westward of the city, to the conquest of Egypt. This, of course, implied an immediate intention of the great conqueror to possess himself of the hill forts of Judah, which were of such consequence as a strong base for his present operations, and would be so valuable afterwards as secure citadels which his troops might occupy to keep in awe the nation he was advancing to subdue.

In imagination they already saw him coming down by the road which led direct from the northern provinces to Jerusalem. Isaiah's ode, composed on this occasion, is graphically descriptive of localities which are almost seen in the direction towards which the watchmen on the towers of the city were looking for the advancing masses of the invading host.[28] The chief's own route, on this

[28] "He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron; at Michmash he has

occasion, led along the sea-coast, and it is therefore probable that the first view of his dreaded soldiery, the detachment which he sent under his chief officers, came under the southern flanks of Gibeon, and along the main path in which the city is approached on its western side. Soon the open ground on the north-west was, for the first time, covered with the tents and chariots, with all the strange and glittering panoply, of Assyrian warfare. The groves there were cut down for fuel; over every green plot of ground the horses were feeding; the gardens in the Kedron valley were trampled down. Never had the people beheld such utter riot and destruction.[29] Meanwhile the impatient generals, astounded at the unconquerable valour of the brave defenders of the city, and marvelling how the Jews had not long since perished for thirst—for all the pools and springs of which they knew were in their own possession—became more urgent in their

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laid up his carriages. They are gone over the passages (עֲבַר מִעְבָּרָה): they have taken up their lodging at Geba."—Isaiah x. 28, 29. Michmash (Mukhmâs) is on the north side of the Wady Suweinit; and while their approach to this point in their chariots was quite practicable at that time, they would there be obliged to leave them: they could not convey them across the deep passage, or wady; and so, "laying them up," the prophet saw in his vision the Assyrian army approaching Jerusalem on foot.

[29] Jerusalem had often been previously attacked, but this was the first time it had suffered a regular siege. The army was encamped on the north side, which has always been the traditional site of the Assyrian camp. Though the mounds against the walls were not actually raised (2 Kings xix. 32), preparations were no doubt made for them; and this implied the destruction of all the trees, which were not numerous, in the neighbourhood. See Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 149), where, describing one of the bas-reliefs which represented an Assyrian siege in the time of Sennacherib, he states that as many as ten banks, or mounds, compactly built of stones, bricks, earth, and the branches of trees, were thrown up against the fortifications.

menaces and scornful expostulations. More urgent daily they became, and still more so after the arrival of the post that told them of Sennacherib's imminent danger in consequence of one unexpected succour that had reached Egypt from Ethiopia. Would they not yield? The great king himself would come and crush them utterly if they did not. And one faction in Jerusalem said it was madness and destruction any longer to persist. It was indeed the eleventh hour! They had reached the zenith of that crisis when God surely interposes to justify those who thus utterly trust him! But now suddenly the watchman reports a hasty arrival from the south, coming up the plains, as if with tidings of defeat, and instantly the camp is troubled and agitated by the intelligence. It is breaking up! They are gathering for flight! The tents are struck, and the horses and camels are driven up northwards from the valley. Away they depart in haste; and soon Hezekiah and his people learn how the angel of death, his wings spread upon the blast of the simoom, had fulfilled the commission which set Judea, and Egypt also, for the present, free from the oppression and bondage that had been threatened.[30]

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[30] Mr. Porter (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 261) has, I think, decisively identified Lachish, the scene of Sennacherib's defeat, with Um Lâkis, on the road between Beit Jibrin and Gaza. This was on his way, by the most direct road, to Jerusalem from the western plain. The Rabbins place the scene of his army's destruction in the Bethoron pass, farther to the north. At all events, it is plain that the calamity did not befall him, as is commonly supposed, in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. "He shall not come into this city, . . . *nor come before it.* . . . *By the way that he came*" (*i.e.* along the coast), "*by the same shall he return.*"—2 Kings xix. 32, 33. For some excellent remarks on this part of the history, see Strachey's *Hebrew Politics*, p. 120.

From the circumstances of the flight, and from the reserved mention of his enterprise which Sennacherib caused to be written on the south-east corner of his palace at Kouyunjik,[31] on his return, one might imagine that the people, who had lately endured this hopeless siege, harassed the fugitives, and obtained from them spoil in requital for the damage and loss which had been inflicted on their substance. And it was probably on this account that the disaffected viceroy of Babylon sent messages and flattering deputations to the valiant king; as, in this way, also we may explain the treasures which Hezekiah was enabled to show those emissaries, in proof that they had not come on their long and wearisome journey from Babylon on an unworthy enterprise. They could hardly come on any route, without some report of their journey reaching the supreme authority. Hence Hezekiah was detected by the now re-established court at Nineveh in treasonable correspondence with the rebel Merodach Baladan. Moreover, Esar-haddon never read that inscription which had been written by his father, without being reminded that one of the favourite designs of Assyrian policy was still unaccomplished. Besides, its reserve acknowledged plainly enough that disgrace had been incurred before Jerusalem. And had it not been already described in the records as "a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces?"[32] Moreover it was close upon the tributary province of Samaria; and this province, which was endangered by it, had ancestral claims on him. Was there not reason enough in all this for another, and should it not be a final, attempt

[31] Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, c. vii. See especially pp. 144, 145.
[32] Ezra iv. 15.

to subjugate the whole of the country lying between the tributary Syrian province and the wilderness? Indeed, this step had become necessary as a defence to him, since now there were symptoms of more valour and enterprise in the Egyptian State, which, besides, had lately strengthened itself by bands of mercenary troops from the high-spirited people that was now establishing itself so firmly on the shores of the Ægean?

Again, consequently, the open campaigning ground to the north-west of Jerusalem is covered with the equipages of Assyrian warfare. And again there is a summons to surrender. Any veterans in the host who were in the former expedition would mark a great change in the aspect of the city. They remembered that when they formerly looked over into the temple court from the Mount of Olives, that "grove" which they now saw, and those images dedicated to Baal, were not there.[33] Nor were those incense altars then standing on the Judean hills. They saw what a great change there had been in the temper of the people and of their ruler! And, as a consequence of it, when Esar-haddon retired from Jerusalem they took that ruler with them. In visible token that the whole land was now under Assyrian rule, the people beheld their monarch,

[33] Every object in the temple court was distinctly visible from the Mount of Olives, and they could now see there all the instruments of idol worship which Josiah (2 Kings xxiii.) afterwards removed, the altars of the sun and star worship introduced by Ahaz (note, p. 196), and especially the "asherah," or (A.V.) "grove." This last, which, from its etymology (יָשַׁר to be direct or straight), appears to have been formed of the straight stem of a tree, and to have been connected with the worship of Astarte, would be one of the most prominent objects near the temple. These "scandals" appear to have been restored by Manasseh after their removal, as far as that was possible, by his father.

the degenerate son of Hezekiah, the representative of David, led away in his chariot over the flanks of Gibeon, over ground that must have humbled them by ancestral recollections at every step. Across the scenes of Joshua's early conquests, over the mountains of Ephraim, away through the Bashan plains to Damascus, and thence across the river that David had made the boundary of his great empire,—Manasseh was carried into exile; and in his place there was the Assyrian viceroy, with his idolatrous scorn of their offerings and worship, continually reminding them that their independence was gone, that they were now tributary subjects upon the land which God had given them, and which, if they had been faithful, He would have preserved for ever as their own.[34]

Manasseh returned humbled and instructed. He had seen for himself, in one of the capitals of the great eastern empire, the debased condition of communities subjected to that Babel tyranny, that rule of brute force, against which his nation had been raised up to protest and to contend. Were there in his penitence any visions of the possibility that Israel might yet accomplish this great mission, and are the imperfections of his reforms attributable to the obstacles he had himself created at the time of his degeneracy? Were they tokens of the punishment that

[34] As Sennacherib and Hezekiah were contemporaries, their sons would naturally be on their thrones at about the same time, and hence Esar-haddon has been identified with the king of Assyria who "took Manasseh and bound him with fetters" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). The account goes on to say that he was taken to Babylon, and not to Nineveh, which was then the capital. It is in remarkable agreement with this statement that the inscriptions show that Esar-haddon passed much of his time in this city, and that besides restoring temples, he built a palace in it. Compare the references in following note.

was inflicted on him, in accordance with that law of the temporal penalty of sin which often makes a man's early vices the origin of insurmountable obstructions to the good which he would afterwards, in better days, effect? Be this as it may, his efforts, which were no doubt, in some degree, baffled by the unworthy son who immediately succeeded him, prepared the people for the great change over the aspect of the land which the next reign witnessed.[35] For then all the idol structures on the line of heights from Geba to Beersheba, were demolished. Kedron was piled high with the ruins of the shrines that had affronted the temple, horrid and polluted as they were with cruel, loathsome, degrading superstitions: the deep ravine of Tophet was defiled. And even towards Bethel we see king Josiah proceeding with the zealous band of his associates. They thought it foul shame that the bareness of those rugged steeps on which the simple altar of Abraham their father had once stood, where Jacob prayed, on which such a noble protest against idolatry, by "the prophet," and by Amos, had been delivered—should be so thickly covered with the massive, though now indeed dilapidated, memorials of the people's apostasy and humiliation. There, from the rocky ledge on which it was built, they hurled into the deep valley the royal sanctuary with its altars; and its huge stones were strewn far and wide over the encircling ravines. When the founder of the nation had stood there to command the first view of the country, which was then the promised, but now the

[35] Concerning Manasseh's captivity, see (in opposition to Winer, *Manasse R. W.* p. 51, and others) Hävernick's *Introduc. to O. T.* ii. 1, and Keil's *Commentar. on* 2 *Kings* xxi. Comp. also Rawlinson's *Herod.*, i. 482.

forfeited, inheritance of Israel, he did not see the sepulchral excavations in the mount, the rock tombs that were now there, faced and decorated in imitation of the already world-famed sepulchres of Thebes and Petra. They also were despoiled by Josiah of the sacred bones which rested in them; and, with the fragments of the huge sarcophagi which they held, they increased the heaped confusion that showed how "Bethel had come to nought," and how, in further accomplishment of the inspired prediction, "thorns and thistles would grow upon its altars."[36]

These heaps of ruins, the changed aspect of the land which Josiah wrought, were tokens of a zeal that might have accomplished great things in the restoration of his people. And this was now more hopeful, on account of the lightening of the Assyrian yoke, in consequence of the changes of dynasty at Babylon. The viceroy of that province, combining his forces with the mountain troops of Media, had overthrown the power of Nineveh.

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[36] Hosea x. 8. From Amos iii. 15, and vii. 13, it appears that the buildings connected with the idol worship of Bethel were large and numerous. No traces of them remain, except in a large reservoir, and in the massive stones which surround the ruins of (apparently) a Greek church. "The 'altar' and 'the high place' of Jeroboam, and the grove and worship of Astarte (the Asherah) that had grown up around it, Josiah razed and burnt. And 'as he turned,' we are told, 'he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount.' The 'mount,' doubtless, is the same as the 'mountain' on the east of Bethel, described in the history of Abraham. The 'sepulchres' must be the numerous rock-hewn tombs still visible in the whole descent from that 'mountain' to the Wâdy Suweinit. In one of these, though we know not which, lay side by side the bones of the two prophets—the aged prophet of Bethel, and his brother and victim, the 'man of God from Judah,' and they were left to repose. From that time the desolation foretold by Amos and Hosea has never (?) been disturbed; and Beth-El, the 'house of God,' has become literally Beth-Aven, the 'house of nought.'"—Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 219, 220.

Tidings came that the city had been destroyed, and that the royal family had perished. What hopes for Judah in these tidings! Yet they were not to be fulfilled by treachery, but by a faithful maintenance of existing obligations. So Josiah thought, and he was soon called to act upon this conviction. For that same overthrow of the Assyrian dynasty which had opened out to him such hopes, encouraged the enterprising Egyptian king to march onwards to the far east, in emulation of the great conqueror Rameses, or in reprisals for Sennacherib's invasion. Josiah met him on the Esdraelon plain, and there on that renowned battle-field, in sight of Tabor, and of the scene of Gideon's valour, he met his death-wound in the last array of war ever mustered by the Jews, and on that great arena where their country's destiny had so often been decided. The eyes of the dying monarch fell upon Gilboa, as they led him homewards in his chariot; and the wail of David's elegy, that had sighed so often in pathetic beauty above those heights, might have been breathed again as Josiah's chariot was driven along its slopes, for "The mighty (nation) had now fallen for ever; the weapons of (Jewish) war had perished."[37]

What remained of this section of the history, until the great Nebuchadnezzar comes on the scene to finish it, was nothing but the humiliating experience of vassalage on the part of the three so-called monarchs by whom

[37] The suggestion that the Magdolus which Herodotus (ii. 159) mentions as the scene of Josiah's defeat may be identified with the Migdol of Jezreel, has been already named (note, p. 175). And it is now generally admitted that the Kadytis which Herodotus says Necho afterwards took, was not Jerusalem, but Gaza, called in the Assyrian inscriptions Khazita, and which would become Khadita after the usual change into *d* of the Semitic *z*.

Josiah was succeeded. Pharaoh Necholi took away with him, as a hostage for the submission of the people, the son whom a faction in the city had set upon the throne, and it was as a tributary of Egypt that Jehoiakim followed his father Josiah in the Hebrew monarchy. From an Assyrian, Palestine became an Egyptian province; the whole of the country divinely assigned to Israel was now, with the exception of the Phœnician cities, in the hands of their ancient rulers;[38] and this change was acceptable and welcome to the great body of the people, from old associations, and also on account of the numerous bodies of their countrymen who had already migrated to the cities, which were now in the highest prosperity and splendour, in the Valley of the Nile. It was, however, productive of new and imminent danger to the integrity of the national character, and to the safety of its trust; and this fact awakened the anxiety of the prophet Jeremiah.[39] The numerous points of contact between Egyptian and Hebrew worship made the connection far more dangerous than their subjection to Babylon. But the prophet's anxiety was soon relieved, and the peril averted;

[38] Riblah, of which Necholi was in possession, and where he sent for Jehoahaz, stood near the "entering in of Hamath," under the northern extremity of Anti-Lebanon. — (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 336.) He was afterwards defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, who "took, from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained unto the king of Egypt" (2 Kings xxiv. 7). So that, except the Phœnician cities, the whole "Land and heritage of Israel" was now under Egyptian rule.

[39] In this fact we have the key to his writings, and an explanation of the policy which he recommended. He has been severely charged with political treachery (*Hebrew Monarchy*, pp. 351, 368), in counselling submission to Assyria. But the charge is groundless. He acted under the salutary and reasonable fear of the influence of Egyptian superstitions on the minds of his countrymen.

for, at the end of three years of the new dominion, the Babylonian power again arose and overthrew the Egyptian usurper. Pharaoh was obliged to relinquish all his conquests; the inundation from the Nile valley was rolled back again; Sennacherib's policy was once more restored; and Judah, united with Edom, again became the outpost fortress of the Assyrian dominion on its south-western border.

How odious this change was to the people, and how cordially—since they must be in bondage either to Egypt or to Assyria—Egypt was preferred by them, is manifest from the remainder of the history. This preference, which for the reasons above stated was so natural, throws important light upon the few detached and obscure notices which describe the last twenty years of the course we have been reviewing. Jehoiakim was of course obliged to transfer his allegiance to the new conqueror; but he was only faithful to his engagement until he saw prospects of help from the southern power, and then tidings reached the vigilant and warlike Nebuchadnezzar that again this important fortress of his dominions was threatened. He immediately determined on adopting severer and more decisive measures, and commissioned his soldiers, along with the neighbouring Bedouins, to subdue the refractory and unfaithful people.[40] Then, in a few months afterwards, he removed from the country all those whom he had reason to believe courted the Egyptian party, along with the treasure by whose means they had purchased the aid and alliance on which they were depending.[41]

[40] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. Comp. Keil, *in loc.*

[41] This was the second of the *three* deportations under Nebuchadnezzar.

And, accordingly, we now see the chiefs of the people with their treasures led away, in a guarded and heavily laden caravan, over the same desert pathway along which their great ancestor had come into the land—that they might be taken back, and settled in the same regions from which Abraham had been summoned. Must they not have felt it to be an awful token that the commission to which they had been so unfaithful was recalled? And yet even now hope did not abandon them. There was still one of David's descendants as Nebuchadnezzar's viceroy, on the throne of Jerusalem, and he was solemnly pledged[42] to the alliance that, at all events, secured the people from the influence of Egypt, which was so dreaded by the true patriots of those days. And who could say that there might not be another exodus from the vast Babylonian dominion; as well as a second, too, from Egypt? The throne of David might yet again be occupied; the mission of Israel in the world yet might be fulfilled. It was not an unreasonable hope; but, while they were dwelling on it, the tidings came that Zedekiah also had surrendered to the temptations of his position.[43] And

The first was in the fourth year of King Jehoiakim. Then the conqueror took away only a "part of the vessels of the house of God," with some of the nobility as hostages, Dan. i., and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Now he carried away all the treasures, with the best part of the nation, the most able and effective men who were in it—"the mighty men of valour, all the craftsmen, and smiths (חָרָשׁ וְהַמַּסְגֵּר, *i. e.* artisans and forgers of arms)." Comp. Jerem. xxiv. 5.

[42] Ezekiel xvii. 13.

[43] In forming an alliance with Pharaoh Hophra (Jer. xlvi. 25), *i. e.* Apries, the grandson of Neco. He was considered (*Herod.* ii. 161) the most fortunate monarch who had reigned in Egypt since Psammetichus. For an account of Nebuchadnezzar's war with him, in consequence of his alliance with Zedekiah, see Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 386, and Keil, *Commentar. in* 2 *Kings* xxv. 1-7.

soon after they knew the end had come, when another company of exiles joined them, who told how the Babylonian general had overthrown the city, and that now nothing but black and shattered ruins covered the site upon which the temple, the massive walls, the towers, the palaces, of their capital, had stood in such proud magnificence. None, they said, were left behind but "the vine-dressers and husbandmen," as servants of the new possessors of the country, except a few who had been placed in charge of that impoverished remnant, and a few others who had taken refuge amongst the wandering tribes of the Hauran.

The tidings were shortly afterwards completed by the intelligence that another revolution had been attempted, which had ended in the slaughter of nearly all who had been left among the ruins, and in the flight of the survivors into Egypt.[44] Then the land was utterly surrendered to the stranger, and all traces of the place which the Hebrew people had held amongst the nations, were finally destroyed.

[44] Jer. xliii., "So they came into the land of Egypt, even to Tahpanhes" (Sept. Τάφνη.) This no doubt was the Daphne, about sixteen miles from Pelusium, of which Herodotus (ii. 30) speaks as one of the garrisoned cities on the north-east of Egypt. It is said to have been the scene of Jeremiah's martyrdom. The colony of Jews now established there held their position, as guards on this border of the country, in observance of the policy of the earlier Pharaohs in the case of their ancestors. Comp. pp. 29, 41.

CHAPTER VII.

LAND OF NEHEMIAH AND THE MACCABEES.

Long before the period which we reached in the close of the last chapter, the central Church Land of the Hebrews was limited to the hill country around Jerusalem; nor through the long course of time which is yet before us, did it ever pass far beyond that limit. Now, however, it comes forward in important relations with the regions lying on either side of it; and first with the great kingdom on the east, of which, indeed, at this time, it formed part of the western border province. From our present point of view we must regard it in this character, and estimate its place in that vast territory which stretched in one direction from the Mediterranean to the borders of Hindostan, and, in another, from the Caucasus to the Indian Sea—the dominion of Cyrus and his successors.

The extent of this was many times greater than the most considerable of the great empires which had preceded it. Indeed, all the largest of these came to be included as its provinces within its limits. It had been conquered by the first outbursts of the energy of that upper race which has ever since maintained its supremacy in the movements

of human history. Of the Arians who had gone eastward in the earliest migrations from the primeval settlements, the native vigour of some had been severely trained in the hill country of Media and Persia. Their power had enabled them gradually to subjugate to their rule all the inferior races who had been previously established on that territory.[1] And, as might have been expected, they had at length come down westward, in an irresistible irruption upon the communities of the Mesopotamian plain; and then, with the advantages and helps derived from subjugating them, had spread themselves over the vast surface which has been just indicated, holding together in one empire, by marvellous valour and policy, kingdoms which had separately been most remarkable in respect of their population, not less than of their wealth and their resources.

The hill country centered around Jerusalem, formed part of the western border province of their vast territory. As a small group of hills in an extreme corner of his dominions, the great monarch at Susa thought of it, though he would never, on account of its peculiar position

[1] Historical tradition and philology agree in establishing the Arian (Her. vii. 62) origin of the Medes and Persians. They appear to have come from that great colony which was established beyond the Indus by the descendants of Japhet in the earliest migrations, and to have started thence westward on a career of conquest at about the same time that other members of the settlement went eastward and southward to establish themselves as the ancestors of the Hindoos. As these subjugated the inferior Turanian or Hamite races in India, so did the western conquerors those on the highlands of Iran. They appear to have adopted many of the customs, and, in some instances, the religion, of the vanquished tribes. Many of the families of the victors continued to be distinguished from the conquered people; others were wholly or partially amalgamated with them; and the result was seen in the existence of the classes which Herod. (i. 125) mentions as constituting the Persian nation. Comp. Rawl. *Herod.* vol. i. 401–3, and vol. ii. 552. Ritter's *Erdk.* viii. 1–84.

on the outskirts of his empire, regard it with indifference. He would look upon that mountain block as an outpost, or fortress, which might be used for the defence of his territory on that side against an attack on the part of Egypt, or which might serve as an advanced station in any meditated invasion of that country. The strength and fidelity of those who guarded such a position was evidently of great moment; and its security must often have been anxiously debated in the Persian councils.[2] That it should be occupied by a few colonists, or by governments liable to be tampered with by Egyptian influence, was to endanger the security of the whole empire. Cyrus knew at the same time that the Hebrews in his own kingdom, and those dispersed in other parts of the world, especially in Egypt itself, fixed their eyes on the ancient city as the guardian of a divine deposit, and of their most treasured hopes for the future of their people.[3] So long as they held Jerusalem, they believed themselves to have the pledge of the fulfilment of that future destiny of greatness which had never

[2] This local relation of the southern mountains of Palestine to Egypt is the more significant if, as Herod. (i. 153) affirms, Cyrus meditated the conquest of that country. At all events, it was most desirable that such an important position should be occupied by those on whose fidelity the Persian monarch could depend. The Idumeans were now (note, p. 219) settled in the hill country around Hebron, but there was nothing in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to tempt colonists to establish themselves in it. None but religious or patriotic motives could have induced any to settle in such a barren and unattractive neighbourhood.

[3] From the language of his decree (Ezra i. 2–4), it seems probable that Cyrus was acquainted with the prophecies of Isaiah, xliv. 28 and xlv. He may very naturally have been made acquainted with them by Daniel, whom he found in office, and whose virtues and wonderful history would introduce him favourably to the great conqueror's notice. Indeed it is most probable that it was through Daniel's agency that Cyrus issued his "commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem," Dan. ix. 25. Comp. *Scrip. Studies*, p. 197.

been lost sight of. Marked and distinguished as they were, in all their settlements, from the people around them, and especially from their fellow captives, in nothing were they more so than in the mysterious reverence, the strength-inspiring anticipations, and the kindling memories, with which they looked from all sides to the mountains and secluded glens and valleys of their fatherland, and especially to the city of their great king, and the hill whereon his son, Solomon the Magnificent, had erected the temple, in comparison with which how despicable appeared the idol shrines that were around them in Nineveh and Babylon, and in the cities of the Nile.

It may have been in partial sympathy with their feelings, as it certainly was in the fulfilment of an obvious policy, that Cyrus issued his decree that that cluster of distant hills, that fortress block in the remote corner of his dominions, should be occupied by any of the prosperous, able men then living in the Babylonian colonies and settlements who were willing to go there for that purpose. "Whosoever among you is willing," he said, "let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah." The position which they were invited or summoned to occupy was the ancient city, and the hill country in its neighbourhood. The northern provinces—all the rich and beautiful country that had been included in Samaria—were already covered with colonies; and the decree of Cyrus did not meditate, or allude to, their displacement. It was only the bare, ungenial territory that lay between this and the fertile vales around Hebron, also occupied upon the south, that was contemplated in the proclamation. This must be distinctly borne in mind, when, in order to understand the spirit in which

the decree was received, we transfer ourselves to the provinces around Babylon, and picture, in comparison with their circumstances there, the position which the Hebrews were invited to occupy.

In doing this we shall be helped, if we take Egypt as the groundwork of our conceptions. But its level area must be greatly extended; and we must bear in mind that, in respect of soil and climate, nature has dealt more parsimoniously with the vaster plains of Babylon than with those on the Delta, and in the Nile valley. Still, in their main features, the resemblance between the two countries is very striking; and this would be at once recollected by many of the earlier exiles, to whom Egypt was familiar. The ground was marked and covered by works of the same race. The Hamitic mind and character were expressed in both countries, by the same colossal works. In its temples and sculptures, and in its monumental effigies and decorations, Egypt, in fact, on a larger, severer scale, was reproduced on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and all the appliances of civilization and luxury were known there that were known in the cities that lined the Nile.[4] When Cyrus issued his decree, the Hebrew exiles were at home in their new settlements; their ancestors for two generations backward had been there before them; and the native energy of

[4] "The vast plains of Babylon were nourished by a complicated system of canals and watercourses, which spread over the country like a net-work. The wants of a teeming population were supplied by a rich soil, not less bountiful (?) than that on the banks of the Egyptian Nile. Like islands rising from a golden sea of waving corn stood frequent groves of palm-trees and pleasant gardens. . . . The land was rich in corn and wine."—Loftus, *Chaldæa*, p. 14. Comp. Herod.'s *Comparison of Babylonia and Egypt*, i. 193, and Col. Chesney's *Euphrat. Exped.* vol. i. p. 105.

their race had manifested itself in this new position. Protected, and in some instances favoured, by their new lords, they had made for themselves homes, and acquired large possessions, in their new abodes. They were masters of many arts which they had soon learned to exercise profitably to themselves, as well as advantageously to those who, in personal capacity and vigour, were so greatly their inferiors.

Such were the circumstances which they were invited by the decree of Cyrus to exchange for the precarious and difficult position of colonists on the hill of Zion, bare of resources as it was, and covered with little else than ruins, as well as exposed to the jealousy of the adjacent tribes, and to attacks from the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt. An accumulation of difficulties had to be overcome by those who accepted the invitation or summons; and, after all, what would they be but the guards of an outpost of the conqueror? Moreover, there was a long, wearisome journey to be encountered from their settlements on the Chaldean lowlands to Jerusalem. Hence it came to pass that, in comparison with the whole number of the exiles, but few were induced to undertake the enterprise. Many gave freely of their wealth in furtherance of it; but only a small number comparatively could be induced to undertake, in the spirit of the founder of the nation, the long and perilous journey over the great desert, which, after all, they would say, only led to a toilsome and difficult, and, as some might affirm, a hopeless undertaking.[5]

[5] The common expression, "return from the captivity," applied to the migration under Zerubbabel, often leads to a serious misconception of the extent of it. Michaelis (quoted by Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, vii. 52)

In comparison with the extent of even that part of the nation which was settled in Babylon, it was, accordingly, only a small caravan which, under the leadership of Zerubbabel, now comes in view, along the old route across the Euphrates, by the palm-groves of Tadmor, and across the desert which thence stretches to Damascus; and yet how large in comparison with that of Abraham, in whose steps they were following! Fifty thousand individuals, with their beasts of burden, formed such a company that some months were necessarily consumed in the journey, as well as in the preparation for it, which also would occupy no small time, considering not only their numbers, but the value of the treasure they carried with them, as well as their insecurity from the marauding tribes upon the road, and the jealousy with which their expedition was regarded. One would like to know the route by which they at length approached Jerusalem. Did they venture into the hill territory of Palestine, and come down through the rich midland provinces, keeping throughout on the track of their great ancestor? Or did they, as seems more possible, take the more cautious path through the old Gilead provinces of Manasseh and Gad, crossing the Jordan

computes that four times the number carried into captivity returned after Cyrus' decrees. Jahn's remarks on this statement (*l. c.*) show that this is a greatly exaggerated estimate; and, besides, it is inconsistent with the statement of Philo, who says (*de Virtut.*, p. 587, and *de Mosc*, p. 85) that at this time they covered Babylonia, and they were already numerous in Egypt (see notes, pp. 211, 221). Moreover, the space left vacant for them around Jerusalem, bare and unattractive as it was, could not have exceeded one hundred square miles; they formed only a small community or settlement; and when, afterwards, we read of their stations from Bethel to Beersheba (Neh. xi. 30, 31), we must think of them as living amongst the people, the Samaritans and Edomites, who were already settled north and south of Jerusalem.

by the fords of Jericho, and so make their way up the mountain paths that conducted them across the slopes of Olivet, and gave them the first view of the now ruined city, from the east? This might be preferred as the securer road; it would, besides, save them much suffering and humiliation that would be almost intolerable, as they saw the best part of the country that should have been their own free possession, and their children's inalienable heritage, in the hands of an oppressive, an ignoble, and idolatrous people, who were there polluting, with the rites of a degrading superstition, structures and sites that had been associated with their most hallowed recollections.[6]

For this was now the condition of the country. The provinces adjacent to Jerusalem on the north were in possession of communities, which, if not perfectly heathen, had among them only a few remnants of the Hebrew faith superstitiously preserved; while, in the south, the chief towns of Judea, and the most desirable provinces of the Jewish kingdom, were in the hands of the Idumeans.[7] So that

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[6] Their direct road would be in the usual route—*i.e.* over the Euphrates, then by Tadmor and Damascus, and across the Gaulan plain in the present Haj route, down the ravine of the Jabbok, and southward through Central Palestine, to Jerusalem. This must have been the course taken by Abraham, and was the beaten track for expeditions between Jerusalem and the cities of the East. But, in order to avoid the communities of Central Palestine—which they might expect would be hostile, as they afterwards proved—it is probable that the expedition passed down the Jordan valley, and then came up by Jericho, along the already worn road on which Pompey afterwards led his army to the Holy City.

[7] During the captivity, the Idumeans advanced westward, and took possession of South Palestine. Josephus gives the name of Idumea to all that part of the country between the Arabah and the Mediterranean, which was formerly included in the patriarchal territory (*Antiq.* v. 1; comp. also xii. 8, *Bell, Jud.* iv. 9). With this agrees the testimony of Jerome (in *Obad.*), who speaks of this country as belonging to the Edomites. Their occupation

those who came in the expedition found themselves confined to the bare, hilly country, extending only a few miles round, of which Jerusalem was the centre. They found it occupied only by the straggling remnants of the last deportation, or perhaps by a few pilgrims who were hovering in reverent, lingering affection, around the old sites of Hebrew sacredness and glory. The hills of Jerusalem itself were only covered with shattered, crumbling ruins, that were blackened by the conflagration which was kindled in the last capture and destruction of the city. Under these circumstances they entered on the toil, and the sacrifices, to which they had pledged themselves. The building up of the temple now in ruins, and the re-establishment there of Jehovah's worship in exact accordance with the prescriptions of the Mosaic ritual, the formation in this manner of a centre around which they might be faithfully and energetically combined—was the main object of the decree of Cyrus, and of the contributions which he himself, as well as the Jews remaining in Babylon, had made to these treasures. But the work, notwithstanding the large assistance they received in it, was, on account of the circumstances just named, and because of their great distance from the protecting power, of enormous difficulty, and was beset with terrible discouragements.

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of it led Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 12) and Juvenal (viii. 160), by a natural mistake, to give the name of Idumea to the whole of Palestine. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 53) discovered in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) some caves (which Mr. Porter, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 257, speaks of as "the most remarkable excavations in Syria")—that he conjectured (ii. 69) might be the work of the Idumeans; and this is confirmed by Jerome, who, speaking of that people as settled in these parts, says (in *Obad.*), "propter nimios calores solis . . . subterraneis tuguriis utuntur."

This should be distinctly borne in mind, in order to conceive the struggle of the devoted men who undertook it. No doubt they were—indeed, they must have been—the chosen men of the Eastern colony, distinguished from all their compatriots by their vigour, and zeal, and high principle. Others, of similar character, and who sympathized with their purposes, would come from other countries of "the dispersion"—for the Jews were already found in every quarter of the world. Their deportation eastward had commenced 150 years before the removal of the last company under Nebuchadnezzar into Babylon. There are traces, besides, of migrations into Egypt before that which followed the assassination of the Persian satrap. Then, in addition to their Babylonian and Egyptian settlements, many had been carried westwards, as well as still farther to the east and south, by those Tyrian and Idumean slave merchants who are so indignantly rebuked by the prophet for the cruel injury thus inflicted on the captives that had been taken in the course of the border warfare which was so incessantly occurring. At this period, therefore, at the close of the sixth century before Christ, they were already widely scattered over the inhabited world.[8] The Jew might have been found everywhere—in the numerous cities, and over the vast plains of Western Asia, labouring in the fields and mines, and especially on the vast erections now going forward there, as again on the banks of the Nile, in the Greek colonial towns of the Mediterranean, in Athens and Sparta, in the

[8] An excellent account of the "Jewish dispersion" at this period is given in Wiltsch's *Handbuch der Kirchlichen Geographie* (E.T.), pp. 9–11. See also Ritter's *Erdk.* iv. 598; and Dr. Buchanan's *Christ. Res. in India*, pp. 112–118. Comp. Joel iii. 6.

Carthaginian settlements of Spain and Africa. In all these places he was seen, and everywhere he was looking to the very mountain block on which his enterprising countrymen were then labouring, as the central object of his hopes and veneration.

The Jews would naturally look to it as having this importance—the "hill of Zion" was still to them "a fair place, the joy of the whole earth." And it was partly in consequence of his sympathy with these feelings, as well as in the fulfilment of an obvious policy, that Cyrus had helped them in their efforts to restore it. This was not the case with his successors. They did not regard the Hebrews with his feelings; and, in pursuit of other objects, they overlooked the local importance of this corner of their dominions. Hence the exposure of the enterprising men at Jerusalem to the vexatious annoyances which they suffered from the adjacent tribes and colonists. In that position, too, they would feel, in its full severity, the consequences of a severe blight which fell on the scanty crops of the contracted territory where they were settled. Their position, moreover, within a day's journey of the passes from the coast, made them liable, fitted as they were for effective military service, to be drafted off into the armies which now passed to and fro in that old route, on account of the Egyptian wars which were then being waged by their Persian lords.[9]

[9] Under Cambyses (526 B.C.), Xerxes (484 B.C.), and Artaxerxes (455 B.C.), at least three expeditions between the first settlement of the Jews in Palestine and the time of Nehemiah, marched against Egypt from Persia, for the subjugation, and, after its revolts, for the recovery, of that country to the Persian rule. In Artaxerxes' (second) expedition, his army was detained in Syria an entire year (*Diod. Sicul.* xi. 71, 74).

Discouraged by all these circumstances, they were continually tempted to renounce their labours; and a long period elapsed before the temple was finished, and before the sacrifices were offered up in it. And when this was done, the city was yet exposed on all sides; the walls were broken lines of ruins; the aqueducts were shattered; the most sacred sepulchres were wasted and defaced, and strewed with the fragments of the gates and buildings that were cast down on all sides. Except in the narrow spaces cleared by the few occupants of the city, it was nothing but a shapeless pile of blocks, of stones and columns overthrown, and blackened by the conflagration with which their enemies destroyed it. So that "all who passed by still asked, Is this the city that men call perfection, the joy of the whole earth?"

Such was the state in which the second expedition under Ezra found Jerusalem, when he "sat down astonied" among the ruins. The temple, and a few private dwellings, were all the fruits of eighty years of effort. So Nehemiah heard, and mourned as he heard, and he determined to go and devote himself to the great enterprise of lifting up the daughter of Zion from her humiliation, and advancing the high and momentous destination which he believed she was appointed to accomplish. And now we see him carrying forward, upon that narrow and secluded spot, one of the noblest works ever accomplished by one man in the annals of the Jews or of the world. Three days were enough for repose and friendly greetings; and then, unobserved, in the late night, he went with a few companions along the course of the city walls, stumbling over heaps of rubbish, down to the southern extre-

mity of the Kedron valley, where the ruined outlines of the city, clear and silvery in the moonlight, rose high above him.[10] In earnest consultation he there laid the plans which months of toil, of brave patience, and strenuous effort, were needful to accomplish.

Now all around we see innumerable multitudes, in organized activity, hoisting up the huge blocks, cleansing the cornices and pillars from the blackened traces of the conflagration; working with all the vigour of their race in restoring the breaches and devastations of more than 150 years, and over all one energetic governing mind, animating them by his own example of unstinting self-devotion. They who came up westward, across the ridge of Olivet, would have in one view this boundless, unresting activity before them, and their jealous enemies —who at first scorned and mocked their efforts to raise order, and restore the city out of that wide mass of ruin and confusion, knowing nothing of the plan of that irresistible forethought and perseverance which governed all their efforts—soon changed their tone, when they saw the progress of the work, which then, by craft and violent outrage, they endeavoured to impede. But courage, as well as industry, characterized that busy multitude: these workmen were such that, while they handled the trowel

[10] "I went out by night, . . . and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. Then went I on to the gate of the fountain and the King's Pool (the pool of Siloah, which was at the end of Tyropœon), but there was no place for the beast that was under me for to pass (*i.e.* on account of the heaped ruins). Then went I up in the night by the brook (the Kedron valley), and viewed the eastern wall, and turned back, and entered by the gate of the valley (in the Tyropœon), and so returned."—Nehem. ii. 13–15.

and mallet, they could gird on the sword, and introduce the discipline of a camp into their workyards.[11] Nor was Nehemiah to be either daunted or duped by the adversaries who opposed him. Irresistibly the work went forward; the old blocks that Solomon's Phœnician artisans had chiselled, were heaved up again into their places; the ancient towers, in their squared massiveness, rose up once more; the doors were hung, and the beams and locks fastened to enclose the city. Once again Jerusalem was girt round, and enclosed on all sides as a fenced height, strong and compacted within itself, as in the olden time. In all the manifestations of energy and brave endeavour which the old city had witnessed, there never was one more glorious than this of Nehemiah and his workmen. The city, being thus secured, was now also inhabited by those who voluntarily offered themselves to people and to guard it. And now it was regarded as their metropolis by the men, numbering nine times its own population, who were dispersed over the old ancestral sites from Bethel as far as Beersheba.[12]

[11] "They which builded on the walls and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. . . . . Every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded. And he that sounded the trumpet was by me. And I said, ... The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another. In what place, therefore, ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our God shall fight for us. So we laboured in the work."—Neh. iv. 17–21.

[12] Neh. xi. 25–36, where their settlements are named. They do not appear to have gone farther north than Bethel, or south than Beersheba. In the former direction the ground was probably clear for them; none of the colonists who succeeded the Jews in the occupation of the country would have been induced to settle there. But, in the southern direction, "from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom," they must have lived among

Thus, except in the one particular of their avowed subjection, under which, however, they seem to have been comparatively at ease, they were restored into circumstances nearly identical with those of the nation under Hezekiah. Many of the most unlikely of Isaiah's prophecies were already fulfilled in Nehemiah's time; and now, as he looked forward, with the onward gaze and forethought of one so large-minded as he, the restorer of his people, was, would he not ask, if they might not yet assert an absolute independence; and, reinforced by the arrival of their powerful and wealthy brethren from all quarters of the world, stand forward again as the people of Jehovah, and after all, accomplish the high purposes for which He had ordained them? [13]

There were reasons for such expectations, and the patriotic, high-minded men, who followed Nehemiah, and who were possessed, as he was, with a sense of the world-wide destiny of Israel, and of its divinely appointed work for mankind, would retain his hope. Yet they were often tempted to relinquish it, and especially on account of the perils they were involved in through the armed expeditions, whose march along the old road, towards Egypt and from it, they could almost witness as they looked from their

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the Edomites, who (note, p. 219) had then entire possession of that territory.

[13] For these prospects were connected by Isaiah with those predictions of his which were evidently accomplished before them. Comp. Isa. xlix. 6, and 18–23; li.; lii. 9, 10; lx.; lxii. 10, 12. When they saw "the tribes of Jacob raised up," and "the old wastes built," and the "waste cities, the desolations of many generations repaired," they might well look on confidently to the accomplishment of the remainder of the prophet's vision, when "the Lord would make bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth would see the salvation of their God."

mountain heights. Their anticipations, however, would revive when tidings of the utter, and it proved the final, subjugation of that country reached them. Now the whole eastern world was subject to the dominion of their sovereign; and they stood in the centre of his vast territory, having living connections with every part of it.[14] The head of silver, in Daniel's prophecies; the ram, with his two horns, was paramount. Might they not form "the belly and thigh of brass," the conquering goat, and overthrow this empire, with which their own relations were closer and more universal, than that of the victorious race under which they were in subjection?[15]

This conjecture will not seem extravagant, if now, taking our station on the settlements where they were at this time standing more firmly than ever, we consider them in relation to the great empire, of which they formed a part—or, at all events, it will guide and inform us in the survey. For what was their real position? This narrow mountainous province of theirs—of which, as we have said, their great ruler, if he ever thought of it separately, would think only as a cluster of hill forts, occupied by a stern intolerant people, who might serve the purpose of a strong garrison against the wandering marauders of the desert, or as the keepers of a citadel in case of a revolt—this

[14] For it must be remembered that the Persians were now supreme on the Mediterranean. "Maritime commerce had much greater facilities under the Persians than under the Egyptian kings, and the sea was less infested by pirates."—Niebuhr, *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 313. Now, accordingly, the dwellers in Jerusalem, "set in the midst of the nations and countries round about her," had means of communication with the whole world which they had never possessed before.

[15] Daniel, chaps. ii. and viii.

chain of Judean hills, thus occupied, was, in fact, the nucleus, the beloved and venerated centre of a race of whom he would now find members in every province of the empire. Their numbers and power, in the old settlements beyond the Euphrates, are well known; and to that land they had ancestral bonds. The original founder of their nation had come out from thence. On the other side, upon the south, they were almost as numerous in Egypt, and with that country also they were connected by historic ties. Their ancestors had held estates in it. One of its most illustrious benefactors had been their countryman. Moreover, prophecy clearly marked out a future and most momentous connection between the Hebrew and Egyptian destinies. Thus, not in Palestine alone, but over the whole range of the universal empire, they had not only a station, but a property, besides. Then, again, a property in the future, as well as in the past, was claimed for them by the inspired seers, who had implicated Assyria as well as Egypt in their after fortunes.[16] Nor were Asia, and Egypt, with its bordering lands, only in this close connection with the Judean heights. Europe had already received, in freights of captives, large communities of Hebrews within its limits.[17] These speculators, whom

[16] "The Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day Israel shall be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the land: whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." —Isa. xix. 23–25.

[17] "O Tyre and Sidon, . . . ye have sold the children of Judah and the children of Jerusalem unto the Javanites, that ye might remove them far from their border."—Joel. iii. 6. Comp. Ezek. xxvii. 13. An extensive slave trade had been carried on long before the Captivity both by the Phœnicians and Greeks.—Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, 205, 271. Delos was their

we have imagined on Mount Zion, might therefore add,—"In the event of any rising, and if on this central ground we ever raise our sceptre aloft above the nations, the resources of the west are also at our command." Over and above all this, they knew themselves to be at least a match, in energy and prowess, with any of the races they had been brought in contact with, the Grecian not excepted; and why might they not take the next turn in the succession of universal empire; and, in an absolute lordship over Mede, and Persian, and Syrian, and Egyptian, carry forward through another stage a fulfilment of the predictions of their seers?[18]

They, indeed, who looked deeper into the purport of their mission, and the law of Jehovah's government of men, would see that this establishment of another Babel empire could never be the work of that people whom He had called, and set up expressly for the purpose of maintaining an earnest protest against such rule. But the specu-

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great slave mart; and thence, probably, the Jewish captives spoken of by the prophet had been sent in large numbers into all parts of the world. It is said that as many as 10,000 slaves were sold in Delos in one day.

[18] This suggestion was the more likely to have been entertained on account of the broken and enfeebled condition of the Persian empire, which, as it was in the time of Artaxerxes, Niebuhr likens to the condition of Turkey at the end of the eighteenth century. Several nations nominally included in the empire, are known to have been then independent, and in the case of others it is probable that the "Persian king was even obliged to pay tribute in order to keep open the communication between Ecbatana and Susa, the most evident symptom of an empire in the state of dissolution." —Niebuhr, *Ancient History*, ii. 313–315. In view of all the circumstances of the Jews at this time—of their numbers and wealth, and especially of their command, by their universal dispersion, of all the resources of the world—the conjecture may be ventured, that, if they had then rallied as one people around Jerusalem, no human power could have prevented their establishment of an universal empire.

lation might have well been entertained. And though it was disturbed at first, it would be afterwards strengthened, when the reins of universal empire passed into the hands of the young hero of the west. The events predicted by the beloved seer were evidently still in progress: the silver dominion was succeeded by the "brazen." The change had been favourable for them, when the earnest monotheism of the Persian had succeeded that which had become the fanatical, as well as puerile, idolatry of the Egyptian. But, how much better was the enlightened tolerance and active favour of the Grecian sovereign.[19] They would exult, therefore, in the successes of Alexander, even at the beginning of them, when, perhaps, some fond hopes were being disturbed by him. And when, in a few years more, tidings reached them of his irresistible progress and unlimited conquests in the distant east, and of his persistence there in the line of favour and protection which he was showing to their people, the happiest, the most animating expectations might be indulged by them. They had, indeed, only changed their masters, but the change was such as to assure them afresh of the prescience of their seer, and of the divine guardian-

[19] There can be no question that Alexander conferred on the Jews in Babylon and Media, as well as in Jerusalem, special privileges, including the remission of tribute every sabbatical year. But the reality of that visit of the conqueror to the Holy City with which Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8) connects these marks of his favour has been plausibly questioned. Arrian's statement (iii. 1) that, "having started from Gaza, Alexander arrived at Pelusium on the seventh day," does not, however, affect the question, for (1) his start might have been after his visit to the Holy City; or if not, then (2) the second journey *might* have been accomplished after the (supposed) first, in the time which Arrian names. Compare on the subject Jahn, *Archæol.* iii. 300, and Niebuhr, *Ancient History*, iii. 451 *n.* with Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 124, and Ant. Van Dale, *Disser. super Arist.* p. 69.

ship over them. It encouraged the highest anticipations on their part. For was not an iron power to succeed, and to prove mightier than all that had previously been set up? That power was to be the last; and where was it, whence could it originate, except among themselves? [20]

Whoever considers the position of that mountain province in the very midst of the widely extended empire of Alexander, remembering its own sacredness, and that of the city built on it, in the eyes of the powerful people then largely dispersed over the whole empire, and who, beyond that sea which was there almost in view of them, had the resources of the rising West, as well as of the East, at their command—will not deem the expectation that they should form the fourth and last in the predicted series of kingdoms unreasonable. But the very position which made that hope so plausible, caused it to be rudely and violently broken up, for, after a very few years, that new series of disasters, which they found had also come within their prophet's range, began. Their mountain territory became the battle-ground between the kings of the South and of the North. The highland block of Judea lay just midway between their territories. And, besides being important as commanding the frontiers of whichever kingdom gained it, it was further so on account of the sacredness that invested the city built on it. Whoever held Jerusalem had in his possession the means of weakening the allegiance

[20] More than five generations may have regarded themselves as thus foreshown, for, until the time of the Maccabees, nothing would indicate to them the real character and origin of the iron dominion. And even then, as the letter of Judas to the Roman Senate (1 Macc. viii.) shows, their knowledge of the power and achievements of the Roman people was partial and erroneous. See note, p. 242.

of large bodies of subjects in the neighbouring kingdom. The contest was, therefore, most furious, and it brought on the people calamities which could not have been endured, if they had not found this very emergency delineated with the utmost plainness in their sacred rolls, and a vista of hope beyond it opened out before them.[21] In the strength of this hope some of the men, an elect "remnant of the election," firmly held their position in the bare ungenial region which was now exposed to such danger, which was the scene of such terrible calamity. They would not retire from their charge, either south, or north, or east, into the colonies of their prosperous countrymen, settled in those quarters. But, in the villages, and hill stations centered around Jerusalem, they dwelt on the sacred associations which connected every spot they looked on with some venerable name, and the whole territory with the great hope which would yet be realized. So they nourished their faithfulness, in preparation for other trials, far severer than even these inroads and invasions, to which it was going to be subjected.

These trials resulted from the change of mind and feeling which was gradually being effected amongst their countrymen. We may best illustrate this change by looking to the condition of those settled in Egypt, since

[21] The 11th chapter of Daniel (vv. 1–21) is, in fact, a compendious abstract of the history of the first five Ptolemies, and of the Seleucidæ up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. We have the successions of these monarchs, their alliances and intermarriages, their conquests, the pretexts of their continued strife, all given with as much accuracy, as if, instead of being predictions of the events, those verses had been a historical summary of them after their occurrence. For detailed proofs of this see Bp. Newton *On the Prophecies*, Disser. xvi. and Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. iv. c. 2. Comp. *Scrip. Studies*, pp. 317, 392.

that country was the main source of the influences which wrought these effects; from Egypt they spread, with its intellectual culture, over all other countries where the Jews were settled. Their chief colony in Egypt was Alexandria. Whoever made his way, at this period, along either of the broad streets of the city, would recognize among the busiest of its merchants and artisans, the same marked visage which was already becoming familiar in the great highways, and in the chief cities of that age. If, coming from the South his course took him straight down to the open wharves, there were the Jew traders, over their huge corn heaps, engaged more energetically than any others in the grain commerce of the great seaport. Or, let him turn eastward, and he would find himself in the Hebrew quarter of the city, which was filled with the sons of Abraham, and was already conspicuous by the splendid synagogue where they met every Sabbath day to hear Moses and the Prophets. Their history was not unknown to their compatriots. In the Museum and Library, which were hard by their quarter of the city, their sacred books were familiar in the language chiefly spoken in Alexandria; and the priests of the Serapeum often heard of the marvellous history, and high anticipations of this people, of their poetry and wisdom.[22] Nor

[22] The first considerable migration of Jews into Egypt was after the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. xli. 16–18); others settled in the country, under the inducements held out to them by Alexander; and 100,000 are said to have been carried there into captivity by Ptolemy Lagus. Hence, there was a large Jewish population in the country at this time, especially in Alexandria, (more than one-fourth of which is said to have been occupied by Jews), where they were governed by their own Sanhedrim, and by their national law (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7, 10; xviii. 6; and xix. 5). Under these circumstances, a Greek translation of their Scriptures became necessary; and,

was this the only city marked and distinguished by their presence. Besides Tanis, and Pelusium, and Memphis, they had formed another settlement on the borders of their old Goshen territory, hard by the city of On, which was so illustrious in their regards by the memories of Joseph, and where, not long after this period, they even built a temple in imitation of that at Jerusalem, and on a more splendid scale. Indeed, so numerous were they at this period in the country—in which, as was said, prophecy as well as history gave them an interest—that Egypt must have seemed hardly less sacred than Palestine itself in their regards.[23]

They who then dwelt there, were exposed to a danger of which the signs and tokens are perceptible enough in monuments which are yet extant. The most numerous of them are the Ptolemaic "restorations," as they are called. They all betoken the vague, generalizing philosophy whose special tendency was to melt away that stern, objective exclusiveness of the Jewish faith, which was the main element of its animating strength.[24] Jews in Alexandria

though the letter of Aristeas, quoted by Josephus, who professes to give an account of the origin of it, is probably the forgery of an Alexandrian Jew not much earlier than the historian himself, it appears certain that a version was begun soon after the first Ptolemy brought the Jewish captives into Egypt, and that it was completed within a century from that time.

[23] The city of Leontopolis, where Onias, the exiled Jewish priest, built (cir. 150 B.C.) his temple, which was modelled after that of Jerusalem, was on the east of On (Heliopolis), and in view from it. Here was a large Jewish settlement which continued for nearly three centuries, until the temple was destroyed by order of Vespasian.

[24] The best preserved buildings in Egypt, as at Denderah, Esneh, Edfoo, and Philæ, belong to this period. They all betoken a formal copying of the old types, apart from any vital sympathy with their spirit. (See *Extracts from Journal.*) The great museum of Alexandria also was now adorned by

held this faith, indeed, but they held it at this time with relaxed hold, and in a Grecian spirit, as a theme for meditation rather than as a principle of active life. This fact may be connected, not indistinctly or uncertainly, with the peculiar influences of scenery and climate that were around them. Jews of the pure Jewish type must be looked for only in Palestine and in its southern provinces. The severe conditions needed for its culture were not found in Egypt. There must be harsh and bracing influences in the climate, and nature must be parsimonious in her gifts, where the Hebrew nature is found in its perfection. So it was that these same influences had not yet, at all events, wrought with serious effect upon the residents in Palestine. Compared with their compatriots in Egypt, they were free. Yet its power was not unfelt by them. This sinister attachment to the Greek philosophy, this employment of Plato as an interpreter of Moses and the prophets, had already reached Jerusalem, though, as yet, its influence there was far smaller than in the neighbouring communities.

There, however, it was felt more and more, and it was constantly increased and strengthened by the course of events at this period. The eastward extension of the Syro-Grecian power, denoted by the erection of Seleucia, would bring the same influences to bear on the Jewish communities in Mesopotamia, on the eastern bank of the

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the sphinxes and obelisks of Thebes, Memphis, and the old cities of the Delta. All this betokened just such an age, lacking a genuine development of its own life, as would encourage that loose, generalizing philosophy, which is well known to have risen up in Alexandria at that period, and the influence of which on the Jews was marked by the heretical teaching of Sadoc (cir. 250 B.C.), the founder of the Sadducees.

Tigris, and in Media. And when this power was constrained to move back westward, it brought with it, absorbed into its ranks, large numbers of the eastern Jews. Nor did they abide in Antioch, and in the northern cities of Syria. In the next movement of the age we see the Syrian armies, with their Jewish cohorts, moving southward and renewing, on the old battle-ground, the contest between the kings of Syria and of Egypt.[25] The progress of these contests gives us a repetition of the earlier pages of their history, in the march of armies to and fro, over frontier ground. But now the devastation to be noted as consequent on their position, is not of material property, but of the convictions and habits of the nation's soul. These Greeks, with their levies or brigades of Grecized Jews, could not make their way to and fro, amidst the Hebrew communities of Palestine, without conveying moral and intellectual influences, which tended to strengthen those that had already wrought on them from Egypt; and the result of the war, in the alliance compacted between that country and Syria, carried forward, of course, and deepened the disastrous work, until, at length, towards the close of the reign of Antiochus the Great, the temple in Jerusalem began to be rivalled by the Grecian gymnasia and theatres that were rising up around it; debates in Platonic style and dialogue were carried on in the groves and cloisters of the city; Greek costumes and habits

[25] Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 8, *Apion.* ii. 4) says that many Jews enlisted in Alexander's army; and, 151 years later, they served as mercenaries in Antioch (1 Macc. x. 36, 37). Men so fitted for war would be an invaluable accession in an eastern army, and there is no question that, in large numbers, they served both in the Syrian and Egyptian forces during the contests of that period.

were adopted; the distinctive marks of Judaism were suppressed. Firm and rigorous attachment to the law was discouraged. And as before the whole territory of Palestine, harsh, and rugged, and ungenial, compared with the luxurious regions of the north and south in Syria and Egypt, was the retreat of Hebrew fidelity, of the Puritan Jew, as we may call him; so now, in Palestine itself, he was forced to retire to its most secluded regions, away from the great thoroughfare, on its bleak hillsides, in its austerest solitudes, in its most retired and lonely glens.[26]

What they there heard of the course of affairs in Jerusalem, must have smitten them with atheistic despair, if, recurring to their sacred rolls, they had not been able to assure themselves that this period also, these treasonable concessions on the part of men in authority, this "cleaving" to Greece and Egypt "with flatteries," these "falls of men of understanding,"—were, in the view of their inspired seer; and that, beyond this hour of trial, he saw a better period, a day of triumph for Jehovah's cause. Nothing else, surely, could have sustained them when they heard of the heathenizing processes that were going forward under Jason's influence; of his deputations to Antioch, of his attempts to implicate the Jews, and employ their treasures, in the games at Tyre; then of his reception of Antiochus at Jerusalem, and of the permitted insults and the accepted scorn which those fresh from the

[26] Modin, the home of the Maccabees, has been identified by Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 151) with El-Lâtrôn, a village on the west side of the Judean hills, in the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem. The army which Judas at once raised is a sign that his family was one of a considerable class, who must have been settled in retired places of the kind: the city, at this time, was no home for men of habits and convictions such as theirs.

magnificent city and luxurious groves of the Orontes, poured upon Jerusalem, that appeared to them so humble, compared with Antioch, so austere and so repulsive. How all these feelings were deepened when they heard that they, Jehovah's people, were now the subject of debate and arbitration in a senate far away beyond that sea, on which some of them could look from their village homes. And yet had not those "ships of Chittim," whose sails whitened their horizon, been introduced into their prophet's vision? Nay, from that barbarous western people, of whose prowess rumours had already reached them, the iron sceptre and kingdom might arise! So Daniel ministered to them strength and consolation when it was so needful. He was the instrument of supporting their confidence in prospect of those days of trial which—when they met in lonely scenes, every one of which must have been marked by some hallowed memory, or when they assembled in the scanty companies that went up to the feasts upon Mount Zion — they told one another were assuredly at hand.[27]

How soon those days came, and how terrible they were,

[27] Now, for forty years—from Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon Maccabeus—the history is illustrated by the details of the first two Books of Maccabees, of which, however, the 2nd must be read with caution. For the earlier portions of this period of the history we are thrown mainly on the testimony of Josephus; for the 3rd of Maccabees cannot be relied on, and was probably not written until Christian times. There are discrepancies between Josephus and the 1st and 2nd of Maccabees, which strengthen other reasons (note, p. 248) for receiving his previous testimony cautiously. But the outlines of the history between Nehemiah and Antiochus Epiphanes are clearly given in Daniel xi. There, in the works of Appian, Arrian, and Polybius, and in Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, we have means independent of the Jewish historian, for certifying ourselves as to the general order of the events.

and how shameful the cause and pretext of them, is well known. That loosening of all hold upon objective truth, that evaporation of all reality in vague philosophizing, which Jason introduced, manifested itself in his case in its old and necessary alliance with feebleness and baseness of disposition. No doubt Antiochus, in his late visit to Jerusalem, had tried to the utmost the obsequiousness of the high priest; and he might well rejoice, therefore, when he heard the rumour of the tyrant's death. Yet his cowardly abandonment of the people to the vengeance of the tyrant, would sting with double shame the noble men, who, in their austere seclusion, were watching these procedures at a distance. That which they suffered was more intolerable than cruel death, when they heard what things were transacted in the Holy City. Worse than torments and execution was it that no one was there to resist the horrible sacrilege which was carried forward on the ancient seat of God, and the dreadful acts of guilt that were forced upon unwilling but helpless victims. When they heard these things, their strong frames were shaken with an agony that would have crushed them, if again the sacred roll had not warned them of it all, and told them that now was the crisis-hour in which men like themselves might come forward in the old spirit of Joshua, and Moses, and Nehemiah, "to be strong and do exploits."[28]

The officers who came down coastward, among the hills, would have trembled on their mission, if they had

[28] For the sudden impulse under which Mattathias acted (1 Macc. iii. 24, 25), and which was the origin of the Maccabean revolt, was—may we not say—the divinely-inspired signal for the utterance of feelings that had been suppressed with difficulty, while they waited for an authoritative summons to declare them.

known the purposes that were being cherished there, and how the lion of Judah was not extirpated, but had retired only deeper into his lair, with an inexorable God-supported strength, which might never be overcome. How mighty and irresistible that purpose was, how low and base in comparison were the men with whom they contended, was shown even in their first defeat. Those corpses that lay, on the eve of the Sabbath day, in the "secret places of the wilderness," helped in that great battle when Judas—on the very ground where Joshua had triumphed, in the pass of Beth-horon—chased his foes down through the Aijalon valley into the Sharon plains, and began the career of triumph which soon brought him up, laden with spoil, across the western road, into the polluted city.[29] Not only had those martyrs witnessed to that strength of purpose and principle, which made their brethren irresistible, but they infused it, besides, with redoubled power, into the conquerors. And now, from the central station of Palestine, another aspect is cast over Judea; now once more it is assuming its ancient vesture: Jerusalem casts off the Grecian costume that had been forced on her, and is arrayed, for a season, in the beautiful garments of her Lord.

Those warriors who had just fought so bravely at

[29] "The recollection of Joshua's victory in this 'going up' and 'coming down' of Bethhoron, may well have inspired Judas Maccabeus, who was himself a native of the neighbouring hills. . . . . Over this same pass was carried the great Roman road from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, up which Cestius advanced at the first onset of the Roman armies on the capital of Judæa, and down which he, and his whole force, were driven by the insurgent Jews. By a singular coincidence, the same scene (of Judas' triumphs) thus witnessed the first and last great victory that crowned the Jewish arms at the interval of nearly 1,500 years."—Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 208.

Emmaus, true descendants of Nehemiah's associates as they were, set themselves to toil on the broad shadeless rocks of Zion and Moriah, to cast away, and with a relentless purpose to demolish, all the tokens of the late heathenism that had polluted the sacred place. They displayed amazing energy in this undertaking, for their enemies were yet in the midst of them; the citadel was not yet captured; and they were threatened with invasion from the northern provinces. Their work, however, was accomplished; and in severest conformity to the Mosaic ordinances. The Kedron, the Tyropeon, were now piled high with fragments of Grecian cornices and columns; for a strong protest was needed, not only against the recent heathenism of Jason and his party, but, in this case and as respected the temple, against the innovations of Onias, who had decorated in Alexandrian fashion the Jewish temple at Heliopolis. Men like Judas and his associates, would, under such circumstances, be intolerant of every approach, however distant, to such symptoms of apostasy, as they would deem them; and accordingly, in the structures which now rose upon Moriah, there was the severest, sternest exclusion of every feature which savoured of any approximation to the system on which they believed Jehovah's curse was resting. These puritan Jews,—all honour to their noble protest—dealt in puritan spirit with the architecture, the symbols, the robes, even the gestures which betokened an alliance, however distant, with the idolatry which they were raised up and strengthened to overthrow.

Yet the severe fidelity of Judas seemed likely to ruin the cause to which he was devoted. It raised up against

him a strong faction that stopped the career of his own victories on the east of Jordan, and the successes of his brother Simon in Galilee, which, had they been seconded, would have put the victors in possession of the whole country that had been divided amongst the tribes in Joshua's allotment.[30] In fact, large portions of this territory were subdued by them. Yet they were now obliged to retire, and to defend their southern borders against the combined force of Edomites and Greeks, who employed against them the methods of Indian warfare. As in the highland wars of Eastern Persia, trained elephants were driven by their enemies through the narrow valleys, and over the low hills of Judea. And yet again the Maccabean cohorts were triumphant, so that the Syrian king was forced to sue for permission to pass homewards through what may again be called Jewish territory.

The success of Judas' enterprise had, however, been in imminent peril from the treachery of his countrymen; and now, accordingly, at this crisis, rather than again trust them, he appealed to the Romans, whom he then recognized, as his letter shows, to be the holders of the iron sceptre which Daniel had foreshewn. This was the first time when they came into direct relations with the country over which they afterwards exercised such power.[31] Yet before they could send the promised suc-

[30] For the extent of his conquests, see 1 Macc. v. and Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 8. The Arabbatine mentioned in 1 Macc. v. 3, was in the south of Palestine, and bordered on the Arabah.—Relandi *Palæst.* 192. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 91, 358), following the Alexandrian reading of Ἰουδαίᾳ for Ἰδουμαίᾳ, places Arabbatine in Samaria. But, at all events, it is clear, both from Josephus and the 1st of Maccabees, that all the south of Palestine, then occupied by the Edomites, was subdued by Judas' arms.

[31] This appears from the confused statements in 1 Macc. viii., where the

cour—indeed, before the ambassadors of Judas returned with tidings of their reception by the Senate—he, in averting a new peril, was slain. The factious opponents of his severe zeal for the purity of the Mosaic ritual triumphed for awhile; and, in consequence of the loss and heavy discouragement occasioned by his death, his family were obliged to retire from the city.

Then followed a period of depression, in which the constancy of the Maccabees and that of their earnest associates, was severely tried. They were driven into that parched and rugged wilderness country, which lies east, and south, and north-east of Jerusalem. From Tekoah, the scene of Jehoshaphat's triumph, to Michmash, which was associated with the early struggles of their first king, Jonathan and his army were seen wandering among the barest and most arid regions of Judea. Old memories, everywhere haunting this wild territory, were especially mighty in their sustaining influence. But the men who were now there had even a harder task than fell upon those heroes who had first made this country illustrious. Regions that were tolerable to their ancestors, the warriors of a thousand years ago, furnished no homes for a generation on which the influences of high Egyptian and Grecian civilization had been exerted. Those naked, shadeless hills, which had been trying even to those who were just emerging from their Bedouin nomadic life, were incomparably more trying to men who had never practised, much less been

writer is describing the reports which had reached Judas respecting the Romans, and which had suggested his embassy to them.—See especially the allusions to their wars with Greece in vv. 5 and 9, 10, and the account of their form of government in v. 16.

familiar with, such usages.[32] They, therefore, gladly, and it would seem by some relaxation of the severity of their deceased brother, embraced the opportunity of forming an alliance with their more yielding countrymen. And, accordingly, we find them returning to their ancient city, and engaged there in what seems to have been a general effort to restore it after a model less severe. The subsequent histories of Jonathan and Simon lead to this conclusion. Policy, too nearly kindred with Grecian craft, appears to have enabled them to keep terms with the unscrupulous men who were then contending for the Syrian ascendancy. They accepted the offers of him who bade highest for their allegiance; and the appearance of Jonathan, in his priestly robes, at the marriage of Alexander Balas at Ptolemais, and his share in the festivities at this great seaport, which was now gay and splendid with all forms of heathen pomp—were a token and indication that a Grecizing aspect, in compromise between the two Jewish parties, was being cast over the whole country which had been subjected to the recovered government. They were now, indeed, in the midst of active influences, and of exciting events, which were of such a nature that nothing could have averted these ominous changes, except the firmest faith and the most absolutely unbroken union. In the absence of these there was nothing to counteract the tendencies

[32] The mention of Tekoah, Mickmash, and Bethbasi "which is in the wilderness," and, again, the allusion to an affray with the Bedouins (1 Macc. ix. 36), show that, at this time, the Maccabees were in circumstances almost identical with those of David during his persecution by Saul. The "children of Jambri" were no doubt Bedouins. They are supposed, with great probability, to have been the descendants of the Amorites.—See *Michaelis* in 1 Macc. ix.

which now wrought upon the country from the west, not less than, as heretofore, from the north and south. For, at this time, influences were exerted from this quarter which demand attention, if we would correctly estimate the significance of the Jewish history in this stage of it.[33]

The frequent intercourse which was now being opened up through the comparatively crowded seaports, with the western isles and continent, appears to have given them hopes of finding some of "the dispersion" who had been carried away in the earlier captivities. And it was under an impression that the Spartans might be thus identified, that they now entered into renewed communications with Lacedemon, a land like theirs, and nourishing a race kindred in spirit with their own.[34] These communications, along with their close connection with Egypt, and their active intercourse, especially as auxiliary soldiers, with Syria, made their country still more what we have described it, a Grecized-Hebrew, rather than a Jewish-Hebrew kingdom. For distinction sake, and as a ground

[33] Majuma, the port of Gaza (Reland's *Palæst.* 791), Ascalon, Jamnia, Joppa, and Dor, were all frequented by Western vessels at this time. In addition to their trade between Egypt and Palestine, they furnished the readiest outlet for the merchandise brought, by way of Elah and Petra, from Arabia. We have, incidentally, an intimation of the extent of this Western commerce, in the (of course, exaggerated) statement, that, when Judas set fire to Jamnia and the vessels in its harbour, the conflagration was seen twenty-five miles away at Jerusalem.—2 Macc. xii. 9.

[34] "There were letters sent in time past unto Onias, the high priest, from Darius who reigned there among you (the Lacedemonians)."—1 Macc. xii. 7. The real name of the king is given in the 20th verse, where he is called Areus. Josephus calls him Arcios; and the Vulgate, Arius. There were two Spartan kings of this name, and three high priests called Onias, of whom the first, probably, wrote this letter to Areus, at the end of the fourth century B.C. But Jahn (*Heb. Comm.* bk. ix. sect. 91) throws considerable doubt on the whole account of this earlier correspondence.

of political separation, they, however, maintained their profession as followers of Moses; and this outward form and character—merely outward, undoubtedly, in the great body of the nation—served as an enclosure that guaranteed security to the more earnest spirits of their community, who still kept the witness and traditions of the faith in pure integrity, and saved their countrymen from the guilt and danger of open unconditional apostasy.

They who belonged to this elect remnant in the midst of the election were still numerous, as is evident from the significant clause appended to what may be called the licence, or patent, of Simon as their supreme head. "The Jews and the priests were pleased that Simon should be their governor and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful prophet."[35] This may be regarded as the final protest of the Puritan party at this time, when, their independence having been recognized, they were assuming a nation's place amongst the nations.

For not until this period may we think of the Maccabean territory as a kingdom. It had never until now extended far beyond the limits of the ground assigned to the restored exiles by the Persians.[36] Now, however, under John Hyrcanus, Simon's son and successor, Jerusalem became the centre of a kingdom, rather larger than that of Hezekiah. Tribute was no longer paid to the

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[35] 1 Macc. xiv. 38–41.

[36] For the country described in note, p. 242, as having been subdued by Judas, was not occupied by him, or reckoned in his territory. His southern boundary was marked by the strong town of Bethzur (Van de Velde, *Memoir on Map*, p. 298), twenty miles south of Jerusalem. The northern boundary line is uncertain, but could not have extended beyond the southern border of Samaria.

Syrian king. Shechem and Samaria, the towns on the Philistine coast, and the Idumean settlements in the neighbourhood of Hebron, were included in the dominions of Hyrcanus. This absorption by him of the Idumean into the Hebrew nation, and his renewed appeal to the Romans, showed, however, that Hyrcanus did not meditate a pure monarchy, but one that might take its place homogeneously with those empires rising up north and west of him, amongst which his now well-compacted realm might assume a good position. This purpose was furthered by his breach with the Pharisees, whose views were already ossifying into the lifeless forms of Rabbinism. They ceased to uphold a living protest, such as might have reanimated or restored a pure Hebrew life. The inferior natures among them dried and stiffened into the form of the typal Pharisees; while the rest, hopeless and depressed, retired into the ascetic communities which began at this time to form themselves in the wilderness neighbourhood of Jerusalem, especially in the parched solitudes along the Kedron valley. The dreary, scorched, and rugged border country, west of the Dead Sea, now contained, in the communities of the Essenes, the heart and nucleus of that faithful company for the protection of which, Palestine was still maintained in its integrity, secure, and in comparative independence.[37]

[37] The chief settlement of the Essenes was in the wild secluded valley where the convent of Mar Saba stands. And, certainly, "as one goes along the side path above that valley, and looks on the innumerable excavations high up on the other side of it, the very ideal of anchoretic seclusion is there realized."—J. This was near the original stations of the "schools of the prophets."—See p. 99. But Josephus says (*B. J.* ii. 8) that the sect was spread over the country, and that members of it were found in every town.

That it was thus maintained, notwithstanding the turbulent character of Alexander Janneus, who almost immediately succeeded John Hyrcanus, may be explained by its position. His restless, aggressive spirit, his reckless alienation from his countrymen—especially as shown in his employment of large bodies of mercenary troops—his ill success in war—would assuredly, at any other period, have again reduced his realm into absolute subjection, and caused it to be absorbed into the dominion either of the kings of the south or of the north.[38] But all through the reign of Janneus these kingdoms were themselves divided and in peril; and the position of Palestine was just such as to keep it clear, under a government like that of Janneus, of any ruinous implication in their affairs. There was civil strife between the different branches of the (dependent) royal family of Egypt, both in that country itself, and in its island dependencies in the Levant. Syria,—now under Tigranes, the Armenian king,—was suffering beneath the same calamity, and was, besides, fully, and unsuccessfully, occupied in defending its boundaries from the slow but irresistible aggression of the Roman power. Now, the Asmonæan territory, itself occupied with internal strifes, was so placed between these powers, that it could not be drawn into their contentions.

[38] Niebuhr, however, cautions us against receiving Josephus' account of Alexander Janneus. "His principality was not insignificant, and his reign was not inglorious: it was reviled by Josephus, who was a thorough Pharisee, and, therefore, places the reign of Alexander in the most unfavourable light. . . . . His dominion, when compared with that of Herod, was indeed not large, but still of considerable extent . . . . If we look at his reign with impartial eyes, we find that it was a happy period, and that the shedding of blood was the consequence of Pharisaic intrigues alone." —*Ancient History*, iii. 465.

Thus its position kept it separate, fenced it round in this period of its greatest jeopardy, so that it was not absorbed as it would otherwise have been, either in the Egyptian or the Syrian dominion. This, as we now well know, was needful for the highest purposes; and, by its circumstances and position, this object was secured, until the advancing Roman empire came, in due time, to cast over it that shielding protection under which it continued during the century and a half of its remaining history.

For the purpose of furnishing such protection, the invariable policy of the Romans, and the free philosophizing spirit that then obtained in the republic, eminently fitted it. Unlike Egypt and Syria, it was content with the political allegiance of the nations it intermeddled with, and left them free in all matters of theology and worship.[39] Doubtless it was on account of their knowledge of this rule and law of Roman conquest, that the application of Judas and of John Hyrcanus to the republic, for alliance and arbitration, had been permitted by the people, and that they had acquiesced when the ambassadors of the greatest of the Western powers entered into their city. And it was in natural pursuance of the same policy that Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the two rival claimants of the Maccabean throne, consented to that submission of their titles to Pompey and his generals, which brought him, with his iron legions, first into Jerusalem. Besides, had they

[39] Gibbon's well-known statement that "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful,"—describes the policy of the Romans from the beginning of their conquests.—Comp. Gieseler, *Ecc. Hist.*, § 12.

not precedents in their earlier history for such a step? Had not Ahaz also gone up to Damascus, to the Assyrian king, for succour and for counsel? They accordingly went, each with a large escort for the safety of the heavy bribes which he carried with him, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem anxiously waited to learn whether Aristobulus, with his laxer policy of concession to Greek influences, or Hyrcanus, with the Pharisees, and with his Edomite counsellor, who was, like all proselytes, attached to the more rigid party—was henceforth to have ascendancy. Their doubts were not, however, solved when the former returned to them defeated, since he was resolved on further contest. But, then, sad forebodings were added to their uncertainty; for it was not likely that the successful Roman, who had hitherto trampled down and crushed all opposition in his rise and progress, would brook such an opposition to his decision between their opposing claims.

Besides, remarkable success had lately attended his great expedition for the subjection of Arabia. The Jews would remember the march of their forefathers, under Moses, on the very same desert track which Pompey was now traversing on his way to Petra; the subjection of that rock-girt city had been one of the greatest achievements of their most valiant kings; and now they heard that the Roman triumvir had effected it, thus possessing himself of the old track of Solomon's commerce, to the head of the Eastern Gulf of the Red Sea. Then followed the tidings that this irresistible conqueror, breathing vengeance upon Aristobulus and his party, was on his way from the balsam-groves of Jericho, up the steep and craggy path that led thence to Jerusalem. A few hours more, and they descried

the steadfast and irresistible legions, coming in sight along the winding road on the south of Olivet! No invader before had ever brought his troops up against them upon that side of their city.[40] But there the world-famed veterans were, and there was the triumvir himself—the reserved strong man that had toiled and fought his way upward to his almost supreme station in the empire. There was only one other man in the world who could dispute the claim of Pompey to absolute ascendancy; and how, then, could Aristobulus venture to resist him?

He, on the other hand, during the weeks in which he waited there for the Tyrian engines, for which he sent as soon as he had scanned with his practised eye the towered defences of the city,—would marvel at the inexorable resolution of the men entrenched in those narrow limits; for Jerusalem seemed to him little more than a hill fort, in comparison with many which only a few weeks had sufficed to crush. The Roman eagle glared with imperial contempt on the impotent resistance. But the lion of Judah was at bay, and frowned back with as high disdain. Soon, however, he was made to quail beneath the mighty instruments and the invincible discipline of the Roman army. Closer and closer, in irresistible advance, the huge towers were moved over the ravines north of the temple, now filled up with the stones and beams of the battered wall. Then through the breaches, and over scaling ladders, the irresistible assault was made; and

[40] Pompey's camp was stationed on the south-west of the city (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 12), but he himself occupied the palace of the Asmonæans just opposite the temple, with which the palace was connected by a bridge. This bridge was broken down; and the final assault upon the temple was made by him, as afterwards by Titus, from the north.

the desecrating effigy soon rose high above the temple mount; "the abomination that maketh desolate" was set up in the holy place; and even into the Most Holy the heathen conqueror strode onward. The dying priests, who lay wounded beside the altar, saw him lift the purple veil, look with scornful wonder on the empty space, and return to his work of vindictive devastation.[41]

When Pompey left Jerusalem, that work was terribly complete. The walls of the city were again overthrown; the temple, dishonoured by his sacrilege, was once more in ruins. Their treasures, indeed, were spared. But their brief liberty was at an end; Judea was now only a Roman province. The mourners who carried the dead down the slopes of Jehoshaphat into the sepulchre hewn there in the mount, would rather desire than commiserate the lot of the departed; for had not they been the last partakers of Hebrew freedom in Jerusalem? Nothing but humiliation was henceforth before them, for the conqueror was already engaged in imposing his own laws upon the subject provinces; and he had declared his intention to take the rebellious Maccabean, with his two sons, to adorn and illustrate his triumph in the great western city, which had become what Jerusalem might have been, the ruling city of the world.

[41] There is an entire contradiction between the statements of Cicero and of Dion Cassius as to the conduct of Pompey with respect to the treasures of the temple. The former says (*Pro. L. Flacco*, sect. 28), "Victor ex illo fano nihil attigit;" and the latter (xvi. 4), "*πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη.*" But it is not likely that Cicero would have stated anything in Pompey's favour that was not true, and the testimony of Josephus confirms his statement. There is no doubt that the conqueror levied a heavy tribute, and entirely destroyed its walls (*Strabo*, xvi.), so that, on his departure, the Jewish independence was at an end.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROMAN PALESTINE.

PALESTINE was now reduced to a condition of entire dependence upon the great empire, which, in the rapid progress of its conquests, had come to rule over the greater part of the country west of the Euphrates. Of this vast dominion, the church land of the Hebrews was, at this time, an inconsiderable province, and the Mediterranean and the settlements upon its shores, as well as the countries beyond them, form the background against which it must now be contemplated. We must look upon it, and upon the people living in it, in relation to Western life, to Roman energy, and Grecian civilization and refinement.

Already, in the Persian wars with Greece, and in the contest between the Romans and Antiochus, the inhabitants of Palestine had found their fortunes implicated with the Western nations, and, later, this had been still more the case through their intercourse with the pilgrim visitors, the "devout Jews," who came from the European communities to visit the city which their sacred and ancestral history made so dear to them.[1] The languages and costume of

[1] For those pilgrimages to Jerusalem, so familiarly alluded to in the New Testament (John xii. 20; Acts ii.; viii. 27), must have begun from the

the West had long been familiar upon the hill of Zion. But now the relation of the inhabitants of Palestine with European nations was regular and systematic. And the use and significance of their maritime position was manifested when, instead of caravans from the far East, we see the numerous shipping now approaching the church territory, and Romans, and Germans, and Celts, mingled, in large proportion, with the Egyptians and Asiatics, in the many-tongued and costumed assemblies which at this time filled Jerusalem.

The entire country, as it was restored under the rule of Hyrcanus I., when thus viewed in its Western relations, blends more naturally with the background against which it is regarded, than it did with the vast provinces on its eastern side, in connection with which it has previously been contemplated. Its varied surface, its hills and valleys, and rich woodlands, its lakes and rivers, assimilated it more to European scenery than to the vast, monotonous, and generally arid country on the east. Although, as in itself the compendium of all lands, it had, in its wilderness, and desert spaces, many Oriental features impressed on it, it still is

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time of the restoration of the city by Zerubbabel. The "men of Judah," who brought the report of its state to Nehemiah (Nehem. ii.), had probably gone there as visitors; and lying, as it did, near the very centre of the broad stream of communication between the east, and Egypt, and the countries of the west, there was every facility for the discharge of what the more serious-minded Jews would naturally look on as a solemn obligation, apart altogether from the historical interest that would attract them to the Holy City. There can be little doubt that the number of pilgrims from the east and west was continually on the increase, from the restoration to the final destruction of Jerusalem, when, after making every allowance for the exaggeration of Josephus, there were, at least, 20,000 foreign Jews in it as temporary sojourners.—See note, p. 263.

marked more deeply with the features of the West.[2] And many who came to it from Greece and Italy were reminded of the verdant sunny slopes, of the vineyards and gardens, of their native lands, as its bleaker, sterner parts recalled the highland territory of Greece, and even some of the Alpine territory which now lies in the farthest background of our western view. Visitors into Europe from Palestine found there few forms of nature which were wholly strange to them; as, again, those whom we now see coming thence, in such large numbers, recognized none of what they had been accustomed to hear of as the distinctive features of the East within its limits.[3]

Indeed, that part of Palestine on which our attention is chiefly fixed in this period of its history was almost exclusively Western in its character. The eastern regions included in the consecrated territory were no longer connected in any special manner with the fortunes of the Hebrews, for the Bedouins had, long since, recovered possession of them.[4] And this affinity of scenery and

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[2] See note, p. 112.

[3] This western aspect of Central Palestine, as far north as the Lebanon, strikes the traveller very impressively if he enters the country from Egypt and the Desert. Its barer regions immediately reminded my companions and myself of Cornwall and North Wales, while the richer districts recalled the best features of our home and southern counties. Wherever, as in Nablous (Shechem) or Banias, the usual hard outlines of Eastern scenery are softened by a greater moistness in the atmosphere (*Van de Velde*, vol. i. 388), this European home-look of the country is very remarkable.

[4] The Bedouins had only been kept in check when the native holders of the country were strongest and most united. When they were weakened, and still more after their removal, these hordes—who, all through the history, were hovering on the borders of the settled territory—continually encroached on it, and occupied large portions of it, as they do at the present time. So that, even when Cambyses began his march from Palestine to Egypt, he was obliged to negotiate with them, and largely subsidize them for the

climate largely explains the strong disposition to receive the tone and culture of the Western races which had been witnessed long before the Roman secured his present ascendancy. In fact, for more than two centuries the Greek costume, language, and amusements, their buildings and philosophy, had attested the affinity of the Hebrew race and soil for Western influences. As was before remarked, the purpose of Hyrcanus was to establish a kingdom which might take its place among the rising nations of the north and west, amongst which he deemed it well fitted to hold a good position. And the troubles which arose immediately after his time, were occasioned by the sincere, but often fanatical and outrageous, resistance that was carried forward by those in whom the pure Hebrew spirit still survived, against compliances with the innovations by which they saw the distinctive marks of pure Judaism were being gradually effaced.[5]

After Pompey's conquest, this resistance became hopeless and ineffective, although for twenty years subsequently, in the wars carried on by the zealous adherents of the Asmoneans, the country was disturbed by it.[6] The mighty pressure of the iron power prevailed;

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liberty of passage through what they looked on as their rightful territory, just as all travellers do now (*Herod.* iii. 88).

[5] Such, at all events, were the pretexts of the frequent disturbances in the country during the forty years which followed the death of John Hyrcanus. In large measure they were, doubtless, genuine, since that monarch's encouragement of Western habits would give increasing occasions for discontent. But, as before remarked (note, p. 248), the whole history of this period must be read with caution, since Josephus, our chief authority for it, was personally committed to one of the parties in the strife.

[6] The insurgents were headed by the son of Aristobulus, against whom

and through the period now opening on our view, Palestine was a province of the Western empire: it became a part of the fourth great realm of that vision of Daniel, in which the Jews saw he had surveyed the whole sphere of events which were then opening around them. Still, however, while we recognize its western aspect and character through this period, and mark all the features of Roman life which were impressed on it, those representatives of the stern old Hebrew spirit must not be forgotten, though we must chiefly look for them among the bigoted Pharisees of the chief cities of the country, or amidst the fanatics and brigands who filled its wildest and most inaccessible seclusions.[7]

Their factions being at length quieted, and safety from external aggression being secured to it, Palestine enjoyed unwonted tranquillity for some years. These advantages, however, were only secured at a considerable cost. The exactions of the Roman deputies, one of them being

Pompey had given his decision, as the representative of the severer Jewish party. They were not entirely subdued until after two severe battles and the reduction of the fortress of Alexandrion. Gabinius divided the territory, which Pompey had left in the hands of Hyrcanus, into five districts, the senates of which were accountable to the Roman deputy at Antioch. This was the political condition of the country at this point of the history—*i. e.* from 59 B.C. to 37 B.C.

[7] Josephus (*B. J.* i. 16) describes the measures which Herod took for the extirpation of some of these brigands who occupied the caverns, that are now seen, in immense numbers, at the sides of the ravine of Ibn Maan, which leads westward from the plain of Gennesareth. But the hill country, especially that bordering on the wilderness near the Dead Sea, was filled with "dens and caves," which were equally fitted for the occupation of those at enmity with the ruling powers of the country. They were not all mere brigands, or banditti. With the λῃσταί, who may be thus designated, were often associated the σικάριοι Josephus speaks of in connection with them, and who, for the most part, were fanatics, whom a sense of wrong had driven into madness.—See Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii., lxxxv., cxxxiii.

Crassus himself, were severe and exorbitant, and could only have been met by means of the large contributions then, as always, coming to the Holy City from the Eastern and Egyptian Jews, and from those of "the dispersion" in the west. Moreover, the country was now involved in all the consequences of the changing politics of Rome. For this liability, however, the crafty, pliable Antipater, who virtually held the supreme power, was prepared.[a] He had obtained his influence from Pompey, but he so managed that Cæsar's ascendent star should, as well, rain bright influences upon him. When he heard of the arrival of the great conqueror in Egypt, he levied troops in his aid, and facilitated the march of others, in welcome reinforcement of Cæsar's army. For this service Cæsar, like Alexander, lightened the tribute burden of the Jews in Palestine, and gave them facilities for the discharge of their sabbath obligations. Moreover, he confirmed Antipater in the supreme power, and revoked that division of the country which interfered with the execution of it. But the chief favour granted by him was in the permission which he gave them to rebuild the walls of their city. And now the huge blocks were reared again into their places from the ravines where the decree of Pompey had overthrown them; the long gray wall again surrounded the dwellings of Jerusalem. This had always been a sign of the prosperity and revived fortunes of the Jewish people.

[a] "The Maccabean kings were (now) the Rois Fainéants of Palestine, and Antipater was the Maire du Palais. In the midst of the confusion of the great civil wars, the Herodian family succeeded to the Asmonæan, as the Carlovingian line in France succeeded that of Clovis. As Pepin was followed by Charlemagne, so Antipater prepared a crown for his son Herod."—Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 29.

And in this instance it seemed eminently likely to maintain its established import and significance. For Cæsar was their friend, and they had the means of continually making use of his amity and protection, since he had appointed his relation, Sextus Cæsar, who had manifested the same friendly disposition as the great general himself, to the proconsulship of Syria.[9]

The course of events, however, soon overthrew these hopes, and again they felt the effect of the factions of the distant Italian city. Few of the dependent states heard the news of Cæsar's assassination with more concern than was felt in Jerusalem when tidings of the event were brought into the city. The Jews might well expect that, as the object of his favours, they would be looked on with suspicion and enmity by his successors, that their newly-acquired privileges would be taken away, and that fresh burdens would be laid on them, if the faction which had so violently succeeded their great protector should maintain its power. But was this likely? And if not, then again, midway between the Egyptian and Syrian provinces, and divided among themselves, could even their present form of government be maintained; must they not be absorbed in the dominions of whichever of their neighbours should become paramount? They might well fear this, and some of their fears were soon realized by the heavy tribute exacted of them by Cassius, unto whose share the Syrian provinces were allotted.[10]

[9] He was killed in the year after his appointment by one of the adherents of Pompey. The *title* of proconsul, however, was not assumed until Cassius entered on the office. Antioch, which was now the third city in the empire, was the residence of this officer, and the capital of all the Syrian provinces.

[10] Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 11. His statement is confirmed by the character

Again, the country was covered with encampments, and soldiers were landed at Jamnia, and Dor, and Ptolemais; the roads were crowded with peasants taking up their contributions of wheat and cattle; strongly escorted treasure caravans conveyed the Jewish gold to Antioch; and over all was the consciousness of utter uncertainty as to the issue of the contest which was going forward. Could Cassius and his party maintain the venturous ground they had assumed? The period was only too favourable for a renewal of strife on the part of the Asmoneans, and this, accordingly, was also added to darken the heavy cloud which now rested on Judea. Now also the brigand hordes, that had lately been suppressed by Herod, again issued from their cave abodes to carry on their works of outrage through the country.[11] But, at this time, another change was heralded. Philippi had witnessed the overthrow of Cæsar's assassins, and Herod, who inherited his father's sagacity as well as valour, had secured the favour of Antony. The strong arm of iron power would again quell the restless people into submission, and restore the forced tranquillity of Cæsar's rule. This might have been expected, but more important interests than those of Palestine were then claiming the attention of their rulers! What was this small territory—which, except in its midland grounds, and here and there in its plains and valleys, was so worthless and unimportant—in comparison with Egypt, already the granary of Rome? Thither, accordingly, Antony now hastened! And so, the road being

which Plutarch (in *Marc. Brut.*) gives of Cassius, as a man of "vehement passions and greedy avarice;" and the amount he levied (700 talents) is one among many tokens of the enormous wealth of Jerusalem at this period.

[11] See note, p. 257.

clear, the discouraged party, determining to rid themselves, at any cost, of the Idumean domination, brought the Parthian hordes into the country. Strange wild men, with "the fierce countenances of the ancient Chaldeans," overwhelmed the land, and overcame the clients and adherents of the restored government. Hyrcanus was made a prisoner; Herod became a fugitive; and his brother perished by suicide.

And now Jerusalem was in the possession of barbarians. The descendants of Ham now held it, as they have since done for so many years, even to the present day. The Parthian was a worthy predecessor of the Turk.[12] But he was soon driven back by Roman discipline and valour. The "times" when these Gentiles should "tread down the Holy City" had not yet arrived. The Asmonean party still held possession of the sacred enclosures of Zion and Moriah, but the iron arm was already stretched over the remainder of Palestine, and it was irresistibly leading Herod up to the throne of David. He who had only a few months before been a fugitive across the wilderness route from Masadah to Memphis, was now appointed to regal superiority over Israel and Judah, and David's last successor, crowned at the metropolis as the dependant of the fourth great empire, received the power which was to be exercised over the chosen race, not in the name of Jehovah, but in the name of the Roman people.[13] But a

[12] Rawlinson (*Herod.* i. 649) says that "the Scythic or Turanian character of the Parthians is generally admitted, and was evidenced by their customs and by their language." Justin (xli. 3) represents them as being, like the Calmucks and Tartars, always on horseback. They were the Turk's kinsmen, as well as his predecessors, in their barbarous "treading down" of the Holy City.

[13] In this acceptance of their position as the subjects of a great Babel

few days sufficed for Herod's meditations on this import of the transaction. His royal galley was speedily descried in the port of Ptolemais; and almost as soon as the tidings of his royal elevation had reached the country, he himself was welcomed there by "the lords, and captains, and chief estates of Galilee," who would hasten from the neighbouring cities to approve their allegiance to the late viceroy, who now, as lord paramount, was on his way to his future capital, receiving the homage of the towns and villages through which he passed as he went forward.

They came out, and awed by the terror of the great world-power under whose shield he was advancing, they looked upon his progress; and the fierce outlaws in their caves on the northern hills muttered their notes of dread, though only seldom of defiance, when they heard who had returned. But a different reception awaited him at Jerusalem itself. When the watchmen on the city wall saw this man, who was now doubly apostate and abhorred in the view of the Asmoneans, approaching, they gave the signal to those within who were determined to defend, to their very last breath, what many of them doubtless believed was a sacred trust. Should they admit, and as king too, this true successor of him who had so degraded the family of Mattathias and Judas, and so betrayed the trust of which Heaven had made them the guardians? Were not the eyes of their countrymen all through the world upon them? Accordingly, they encouraged one another to an

empire, it is evident that the Jews were yet unmindful of their true calling as the representative of distinct nationalities. "Jehovah was their King;" "in His name," by "His grace," their princes were "to decree judgments." Nor indeed had this been *voluntarily* and explicitly relinquished until the reigns of John Hyrcanus, and of Herod.

animated, pertinacious resistance, against which the Roman arms prevailed so slowly, that the general was exasperated to deeds of cruelty, against which even Herod was moved to remonstrate. But here at length, as everywhere, the "fourth beast, exceeding dreadful" with the rod of his iron power, was irresistible. The Asmonean party was overcome; Antigonus, its chief, the last and least worthy of his race, was taken into captivity, which was soon afterwards ended by a shameful death; and Herod was escorted by the Roman legions to the throne which the lords of Rome had given him upon Mount Zion.[14]

There he at once secured himself, by the extermination of all hostile to his dynasty; and thence, thirty-seven years before the close of the old time era, he reigned over the whole territory allotted by Joshua to the twelve tribes, from Hermon to Beersheba, from the sea to the edge of the great desert, which extended eastward to the Euphrates. The country was never probably more thickly populated than it soon began to be under his rule.[15] It was covered by cities and villages, by fortresses, and temples, and theatres, and it held endless sepulchral excavations. Vast multitudes, too, were now living in the ascetic communities established in

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[14] The assault upon the city at this time appears to have been even more violent and sanguinary than that in which it was taken by Pompey. Herod is said to have risked his life in his efforts to restrain the fury of the Roman soldiers, and to hinder them from plundering the temple.

[15] The population of the country which was ruled by Herod is, at the present time, about one and a half millions. Probably it was twice that amount when he reigned over it. We must not accept the numbers of Josephus. "Here," says Niebuhr, "he shows his Oriental love of exaggeration. Some of his numbers are manifestly impossible, and you must not allow yourself to be misled by them."—*Lectures on Roman History*, iii. 205. See also Fergusson's *Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*, pp. 46-54.

the wilderness valley of the Kedron. This immense population, however, was far enough from being purely Jewish, as the numerous extant monuments left by it sufficiently attest. The Idumean community on the south was only Jewish by proselytism; and, in the north, Galilee was emphatically the country "of the Gentiles." The seaports were filled with Greek and Italian mariners; everywhere in the midland districts, the Roman soldier, with his profligate camp-followers, was to be met. The provinces across the Jordan were Greco-Roman in their character. Nominally, indeed, the land was Hebrew, and the chief office was vested in one who was Jewish by profession. Perhaps, also, the Jews were numerically equal to all the other settlers; and this, since they were one, while the others were diverse and varied, would give still more a Hebrew aspect to the population. But they were more numerous in the settlements in Egypt, and in Babylon. The Jewish quarters in Alexandria, and Antioch, and Seleucia, were probably more Jewish than even Jerusalem itself.[16] And while, as was quite natural, the wise and faithful holders of the deposit for which the form of nationality was maintained, were extremely few, the fanatical holders of the profession of Judaism were numerous; and they were numerous, too, who licentiously blended it with the Greek and Alexandrian philosophy, or who held it, like the Essenes, in mystical abstraction. But

[16] Just as St. Paul spoke of himself as having been brought up in his home at Tarsus, as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," and as "living after the most straitest sect of his religion, a Pharisee." It was the natural result, in reaction from the laxer tendencies of the majority, that some Jews, in all the foreign settlements, should go into such extremes of rigorousness and bigotry in their Judaism.

those who held it intelligently, who discerned how great a trust it was, and who were "waiting for the consolation of Israel," the better thing it was to introduce—were a small minority. There were only few of them in every city, and they were found only here and there in the villages, earnestly guarding the deposit which everything around seemed conspiring to wrest from them.[17]

These characteristics, which are only seen on Herod's territory at the beginning of his reign, became more marked and deepened as it went forward. It was far beyond his power and influence, as it was also beyond his purpose, to effect any great change in the national estate. All he could do was to settle himself firmly upon that condition of affairs which he found established, to control the working of the machinery which was actually in motion, and hinder any ruinous disorder or collision. Policy, such as he had inherited from his father, must, as he thought, chiefly befriend and help him in the difficult task which he had undertaken. This, at first, carried him too far, in urging him to suppress the influence of the high priesthood, by so filling up the office that it should carry no weight in the popular estimation. He was obliged to recede, and to place one who had such personal, as well as hereditary advantages in his favour, that Herod found in him a dangerous rival who might seriously trouble him in

[17] Luke ii. 25. These "waiters for" or expectants of the "consolation of Israel"—the genuine representatives of the Jewish Church life—were the true successors of the Maccabees, and of those spoken of by Malachi (iii. 16). Lightfoot (*Works*, vol. iv. 202) says that, by the "consolation of Israel," the Jews meant the coming of Messiah; and, in the *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on St. Luke* (xii. 39), he gives the oaths in which they swear by the expected Advent in this form of expression.

his dominions. Him, therefore, with unscrupulous craft he sacrificed, and thereby involved himself, through the persistent vengeance of the mother of his victim, in serious peril, and from a source and agency which now strangely crosses the path of Jewish history.

This was seen in the renowned Cleopatra, under whose intrigues and witchery Antony, Herod's friend and patron, was already subjected. Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus, engaged the influence of the Egyptian queen to punish the murderer of her son, and all Herod's courage and address were needed to avert this peril.[18]

The occasion suggested to Cleopatra a visit to Jerusalem. She came from her balsam-groves at Jericho, to see the austere city, of whose strange history she had heard so much, and which was an object of such veneration on the part of so many of her subjects. And we may imagine her looking round on its rocky surface—then stern and bare, for it had not yet been adorned by the great edifices which soon afterwards were built by Herod—with the fastidious, shuddering dislike of one who had always been surrounded with the perfumed blandishments of Egyptian and Syrian magnificence. Her mingled scorn and profligacy placed her there, however, in more peril than she deemed, and, more than once, Herod was prompted to take her life.[19] But his crafty self-control prevailed, and she left Jerusalem not long before her self-inflicted death, escorted by Herod to her native country, where she soon precipitated the crisis

[18] Joseph. (*Antiq.* xv. 2).

[19] Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 5) says that only "by alarming Herod, and showing the dangers he would probably incur by this act, was he restrained from it."

which the Jewish king foresaw, and against which, whether in faithfulness or vengeance, we know not, he endeavoured to warn her victim, to whom, indeed, he had been indebted for his throne.

That crisis soon came. The kingdom-empire, into a province of which Palestine had been reduced, was again shaken by another convulsion, on the issues of which the existence of the Jews, even in their subject state, seems to be dependent. But Actium found at their head the true son of the man who had proved himself equal to an emergency which was not less serious, as it was the same in kind, when Pharsalia had witnessed the contest between his patron and Cæsar. As Antipater had then been, so was Herod now, the marked, distinguished favourite of the vanquished combatant. And, again, expectation and suspense, hope and fear, agitated the communities of Palestine. Meanwhile, Herod was on his way to the conqueror, at Rhodes, and he there reaped either the reward of candour and fidelity, or the fruits of a politic study of the character of Augustus, when he received—after his frank avowal of fidelity to Antony, and the offer of a fidelity as unbroken to the new ruler—the confirmation of his kingdom; and, more than that, the special favour of the new emperor.[20] Thus was the tranquillity of Palestine assured, until that great purpose—which could have been accomplished nowhere else, and in no other condition of the country—had been fulfilled.

And now looking over the country, such as it had

[20] In Herod's interview with Augustus at Rhodes, after the battle of Actium, he showed great nobleness, or great address, in his speech to the conqueror: ". . . . In the event of thy decision concerning me, and my

become through the passing over it of those great vicissitudes of 2,000 years, whose ebbings and flowings we have described, we at length reach the beginning of that twenty years' course of events which made it what it was, when at length it stands out to view, the central scene in the whole history of man. Chief of all Augustus helped to complete the preparation, when he came up to the sea-coast at Ptolemais, where Herod carried all the wealth and abundance in the land to entertain him. When the festivities had ended he marched thence on the old road to Egypt, leaving in his progress memories and traditions which entered into the life of the eventful era fifty years subsequent to the period. Herod accompanied him on this expedition; and hence it was effective in changing the aspect of Palestine, and making it such as it had become in the days of Him for whom all things were preparing. For the Jewish king, whose architectural tastes were among the most marked features of his character, had already meditated the erection of buildings more in keeping with the advanced style and science of the times than any of which Palestine could then boast. How humbled he had felt when he saw the rising magnificence of Rome! Why should not the site on which Solomon's gorgeous designs had arisen be distinguished in like manner? This

zeal in the service of Antony, being governed by thy wrath against him, I acknowledge there can be no denial of what I have done; nor will I be ashamed to own, even publicly, that I was affectionately disposed to him; but, if thou wilt put him aside, and only consider how I always conduct myself to my benefactors, and what is the manner of my friendship, experience will show thee that we shall be such also to thyself . . . ." Such language accorded well with Augustus' own generous disposition at that time, and the result was a firm alliance and friendship between him and Herod for many years.

visit to Egypt revived the purpose which had been thus suggested, and likewise furnished means for accomplishing it. The granite quarries of Syene must combine their products with the Syrian limestone and basalt; marbles such as he saw in the squares of Alexandria, must be imported from Pentelicus; and the architects of Egypt must contribute their taste and knowledge. So he had meditated during his expedition, and as soon as he had bidden farewell to his august friend and patron, he hastened to Jerusalem filled with the designs whose traces have ever since been discernible on the surface of the country, and which helped to make it what it was in the years now speedily drawing on, through the course of which the regards of the men of all after generations have been fixed on it.[21]

Had any other motives, besides his own personal tastes, been needed to spur him onward in these enterprises, they were found in his desire to deaden his terrible remorse after the murder of Mariamne, and to raise up, in heathen structures, an influence adverse to the Asmoneans, such as might crush and extirpate the few remaining members of that party. They accordingly had soon occasion for curses loud and deep, when they saw the erection, within the city walls, of a Greek theatre, and, worse than this, of an amphitheatre in the vicinity. His own palace was erected upon Mount Zion.[22] But this was not one of his

[21] Wherever traces of Herod's buildings are found distinct from other later structures, as in the ruins of Herodium, of Sebaste, and in the few remains at Cæsarea (note, p. 271), their classical forms are evident. Green and white marbles, porphyry, granite, are found in Jerusalem built in amongst the old materials of the present wall, as in Sebaste, and in the broken masses on the site of Cæsarea.

[22] "The very great amphitheatre (*μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον*) in the plain on

greatest structures; Jerusalem, alternately bleak and scorched, was not his chosen place of residence. In its bared spaces, it still bore marks of the continued series of devastations it had undergone. For his home, he desired a more quiet and attractive, as well as more accessible position; and, with this view, he fixed upon the hill of Samaria for the inland, and the tower of Strato for the maritime, residence of himself, and of his successors in the dynasty he aspired to found.

In a few years, accordingly, towers, colonnades, baths, palaces, and temples, rose upon the broad hill of Omri. Away from thence Herod could look, beyond the narrow boundaries of his kingdom, to the sea that connected him with the great Western metropolis, to which he rendered an allegiance that appears to have been loyal and affectionate. Samaria, now "The August," in honour of his friend, became another token of his opulence, and of the splendour of his tastes.[23] But the edifices rising below the

the N.W., which Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 8) speaks of, was, it is probable, merely a wooden structure for the temporary purpose of the games. But the theatre just within the walls, on the same side of the city, was a permanent building of the same kind with that of which the remains are seen at Um Keis (Gadara)." Traill's *Josephus*, vol. i., xxxvi. Herod's palace is described at greatest length in *B. J.* v. 4. The Gennath, or garden gate, which must have stood near the present citadel of Jerusalem, led, as its name implies, into "the groves and long walks through them," by which, the historian says, the buildings, which he describes as rich and highly decorated, were surrounded. Here, however, whatever we may make of the "groves and long walks," we find an unquestionable instance of the exaggerations of Josephus, when he speaks of the deep *canals* (ἔυρυτοι βαθεῖς) and cisterns in connection with this building. By the "canals," he cannot have meant anything more considerable than the narrow aqueducts, of which traces have been found on the spot.—Barclay's *City of the Great King*, ex.

[23] The most considerable remains of Herod's architectural works are now seen in Sebustieh (Sebaste), especially in the long lines of broken pillars—which we saw on *two* sides of the oblong hill on which the city was built.

Ephraim hills, on the site of Strato's Tower, with Carmel in the distance, eclipsed it; and the twelve years which he employed in the erection of this great city, produced splendid results, as may still be seen, in the huge wave-beaten blocks, and costly pillars, which now lie upon that lonely shore. They give a significant measure and indication of the ponderous solidity of the sunken masonry, on which he raised the mole, extending away far to the south-west, that formed his secure and capacious harbour, and supported vast wharves and spacious colonnades. And from the same decayed and shattered ruins, we can construct, in tolerable outline, the city itself, with its palaces and theatre, its barracks, its hall of judgment, and its prisons, forming an assemblage of structures which were indeed well worthy of the boundless munificence of Herod, and of the genius which was inspired and cultured by familiarity with the noblest architecture of that age. Cæsarea, like Sebaste, and the marble temple on the rock above the higher of the two sources of the Jordan, was named in honour of his imperial friend and patron. On the road between the maritime city and Jerusalem, another town was erected by him at the foot of the Ephraim hills, in memory of his father Antipater; and his own name and memory he sought to preserve in the turreted enclosure which he built on the broad summit of that conical isolated hill which comes abruptly in view on a survey of the eminences south-eastward of the Holy City.[24]

Robinson, in his excellent description of the place (*Bib. Res.* vol. ii. 306–309) only mentions those on the south side running round to the western face of the hill. But those on the north are as numerous. Comp. Dr. Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, pp. 417, 418. The sea is in view from the city.

[24] Interesting and elaborate illustrated descriptions of Cæsarea and of

Our wonder at the vast pecuniary resources indicated by these erections, is increased on learning that they were followed by an immense importation of grain from Egypt, in consequence of a severe blight, and consequent famine in the country. But the munificence which, especially in this last exercise of it, so raised his reputation, had its chief resources in the profuse donations of the foreign Jews, and the large contributions of the numerous pilgrims, who now took advantage of the tranquillity of Palestine to visit what they looked on as the homestead of their nation, and the scene of their ancestral glory. There was a continual influx of these visitors, and their expenditure was, no doubt, profuse. Hence, "the rich men" of the country, the men "who had great possessions"—were, notwithstanding the tribute annually remitted to the treasury at Antioch, on its way to Rome, at this time numerous, and the sources of their wealth were accessible to Herod. On various pretexts he forced them to supply his coffers; so that, after all his enormous outlay—which included, besides what has been named, expensive aid furnished by him to Augustus in his Byzantine war—he announced his intention to rebuild the temple on a scale, and with a splendour, which should surpass even that glorious and renowned edifice which Solomon the Magnificent had reared.[25]

Herodium are given in Traill's *Joseph.* vol. i. pp. xlix.–lvi. and vol. ii. pp. lxv.–lxix.—See note, p. 287. Banias is admirably pictured in Dr. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 389. For an account of Antipatris, *see* Van de Velde's *Memoir on the Map of Palestine*, p. 285, and *Bib. Sac.* p. 478–496.

[25] Whiston, in a note on *Antiq.* xvii. 11, gives reasons for computing Herod's revenue at 680,000*l.* This was exclusive of the offerings made by the pilgrims, and of the sums remitted by the foreign Jews. See Niebuhr's *Ancient History*, iii. p. 452.

The massive blocks of that ancient structure again formed the basement of the new erection; but white marble from Paros, the mosaics and rich carvings of Grecian art, the cedar of Lebanon for the roofs of the colonnades—in short, whatever adorned the shrines of Egypt, and the palatial edifices of Rome—were brought up from the quays of Cæsarea, and built into a structure which was now more extensive, as well as more magnificent, than even the original edifice, on which Solomon had expended so much thought and treasure. Jewish hands raised the structure, but they were tutored by Greek and Egyptian art; and the work was carried forward deliberately, as a work intended to last until the end of time, and such as should appear worthy of the expected Messiah when He appeared. When it had been forty-six years in building, and was already such as to call forth the enthusiastic admiration of all who looked on its glittering pinnacles, and burnished gates blazing in the rising sun against the snow-white columns of the cloistered courts—it was not yet finished. Indeed, its completion was not perfect until eighteen years afterwards.[26] It went on slowly, and, as it advanced, the pride of the people was gratified and nourished by its shining splendour. While

[26] John ii. 20. Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11) says Herod began the building of the temple in the 18th year of his reign, *i. e.* reckoning from his appointment by the Romans. But it was the 15th year (*B. J.* i. 21) reckoning from the defeat of Antigonus. Beginning with the earlier date, "we have twenty years till the birth of Christ, and thirty after that event, from the sum of which, however, four must be taken, since our era is four years too late. This gives 46. The temple was not completed till A.D. 64, under Herod Agrippa II. and the procurator Albinus; so that ᾠκοδομήθη, 'was in building,' must refer to the greater part of the work then completed."—Alford *in loc.* Comp. p. 314.

they looked on it, their hopes rose and strengthened in the belief that it was a sign of their returning glory,—perhaps a token and prophecy that the high destinies, which, in colossal, though shadowy forms, were always anticipated by them, were drawing nigh to their accomplishment.

We know not whether Herod himself shared in these feelings, but the encouragement of them aided his policy, especially in the latter part of his long reign of forty years; for again he was disquieted by uneasy expectations. The sons of his Asmonean wife appeared likely to revive that faction; and if again, in what he deemed its narrow nationality, it did gain influence, much for which he had so laboured would be thwarted and overborne. The spirit, which he had introduced into the land; the edifices with which he had covered it; the usages he had encouraged—all of them being designed to assimilate the Jewish people to the surrounding nations—would be opposed and cast down, if ever the purely Jewish party should again obtain ascendancy. In his designs for the temple he had taken precautions, by the erection of Antonia, to have them always under his control; and now he altered the succession so as to exclude the young men around whom the Asmonean hopes were clinging, and he willingly availed himself of the charges urged by an elder brother as the pretext of their destruction. This iniquity and his undue severity against the neighbour, who in Petra held the Arabian crown under the same conditions as himself—were so injuriously reported to Augustus that he, in rebuke and condemnation of Herod, "henceforth to be treated as a subject, no longer as a friend," entirely changed the relation of the whole kingdom to Rome; and, as a

sign and token, and as a needful preliminary of the alteration, he issued the decree which significantly marks the Advent of that Life in relation to which the whole history and framework of the country had been prepared.[27]

For now as introductory to a new taxation of the people, Augustus ordered an enrolment of all the Jewish families, each in the city and the tribe to which it belonged. This brought many—whose circumstances had removed them from their tribal homesteads to other districts of the country—away from their usual abodes, to their own cities, as determined by "their home and lineage," there to be enrolled. The roads were crowded with their families, going southward, or northward, in obedience to what they all well knew, as soon as their magistrates had made proclamation of it, was an inexorable decree, that must, with no attempt at pleading health or convenience, be punctually observed. Even those who lived in the Galilean uplands, or farther in the north, if they claimed Judean ancestry, must go on the two or three days' journey southwards to the city of their ancestors, after this had been ascertained by reference to the genealogical register of the synagogue. And so noiseless and unmarked was His approach, so far was He from "coming with observation," that there was nothing to distinguish the Nazarene family on which now our regards naturally fix themselves, from the many others who came down with them through the steep passes of the Zebulon hills, across the Esdraelon, along the highway past Shiloh, and Bethel, and Jerusalem, on to the hill towns of Bethlehem, where He was born.[28]

[27] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 9.

[28] Is not this the most probable account of that enrolment, or census

Nothing marked the day and hour, except the vision of a few shepherds on the neighbouring hills, where, about one thousand years before, David, the ancestral chief of Bethlehem, had kept his flocks. The day before was busy with the stirring activity and bustle of the enrolment, so was THE day, and the day following. Nothing outward, or visible, was there to disturb the continuity of our long review of the history and framework of the people of the land. The narrative may be taken up, after this reverent glance in passing, just where it was left. Herod in his palace, uneasy at the new unwonted procedure; the Roman commissioner, with his interpreter and secretary at hand, active in carrying it forward; friends, long separated, meeting; all going on as usual, for no one had heard the striking of that great epochal hour, and the vision was yet shrouded that had dawned on earth. Nothing special was remarked, except in connection with the new political aspect of the country, the probability of increased tribute, and the irritable suspicions that had been impressed on Herod's character, and coloured it. His severity increased, and this might be expected, since he was now discarded from his position of imperial favour, and harassed with the rumours of family

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with a view to a taxation of the people, which St. Luke refers to? One of the main difficulties which have been suggested in connection with his account of it is that, during the reign of Herod, Judea was, by favour of Augustus, an independent province of the empire. But his relations to the emperor had just changed, so that this independence was at an end. The best explanation of the remaining difficulty connected with this subject is, that the census now begun, and which appears to have been interrupted by Herod's death, was an enrolment preparatory to a general taxation, which first took effect (ἐγένετο) just after the removal of Archelaus.

plots, and especially excited by the fear of the ascendancy of that faction which was looking for the restoration of Israel's glory, and the establishment of another and an independent king on David's throne.

We know how eagerly he listened to any rumours, whether from home or foreign sources, and how unscrupulous in his cruelty were the measures he adopted in consequence. His spies, amongst the crowds in the temple, where, indeed, he himself went sometimes in disguise, would eagerly join any groups, such as that around the Parthian magi, which were found conferring together on the great subject of national expectation; and he, who in earlier days, had not scrupled at the extermination of the Sanhedrim, would not hesitate at the slaughter of a few infants, in a small provincial town.[29] The act was hardly thought of by him amidst his severe personal sufferings at this time; and his absorbing anxieties, in this last, and seventieth, year of his long course of plotting sagacity, of restless enterprise, and of unscrupulous, atrocious crime. Although, from the baths of Calirrhoe, he could almost see the mountain amidst which he had raised the wails of the Rachels "weeping for their children," he would hardly think of such a trifling act, in his anxiety for the missive from Rome, which was to decide the fate of his imprisoned son—so unbearable then was any anxiety under

[29] There could not have been more than fifteen or twenty male children of the age named in Bethlehem, and its entire neigbourhood (ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις). St. Matthew enters into no particulars as to the method by which the murder was effected, but simply says ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλεν. The small number of the victims, and the secrecy with which the deed *may* have been done, perfectly explain the silence of Josephus on the subject.

his burden of torturing disease. That son's joy, on hearing of his father's attempted, and as was reported, successful suicide, revived Herod for the perpetration of one more murder. Antipater was doomed to die, and soon the aged tyrant went to his account. His death occurred not long before the passover that followed the enrolment; and the companies that came up along the well-frequented roads between Jerusalem, and the Jewish colonies in Egypt, and Antioch, and in the far east, learned that, besides the high festival of that eventful year, another great occasion was to be celebrated in the burial of the mighty king on that strange isolated mountain, seen by them as they approached the city, which was now crowned and signalized by the high walls and towers of Herodium.[30]

Thither the funeral procession, accompanied by his Grecian and Celtic body guard, whose stalwart and ruddy persons were familiar in Jerusalem at that period, marched over the hills, which, not long before, had echoed with the wails of the mothers "refusing to be comforted."[31] Did not those Bethlehem women mutter, or shriek their execrations over the tyrant's corpse as it was being borne among them to its final resting-place? All felt as if a shadow of gloom and death had passed off the land when he was gone; and those who returned with the account to the great Jewish settlements, south or east,

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[30] Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, vol. i. p. 480.

[31] Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. He does not say that the funeral procession marched from Jericho, where Herod died. The probability is that Archelaus, who, it seems, was anxious to make a great display on the occasion, brought the body up to Jerusalem, and *thence* carried it to Herodium, in which case it would pass through Bethlehem.

would speak of it to those they met in their long lonely route—and one small company we knew of was then returning on its way to the Galilean hills—with interest and wonder, as well as with excited expectation as to what would be the sequel of an occurrence so eventful.

That sequel was soon known. The policy of Rome naturally dictated another division of the province, which had been found to be too dangerously influential in one man's hand. It was accordingly decreed that the territory of Herod's successor, on the Judean throne, should not extend beyond the plain of Esdraelon. They who lived during the next forty years, beyond and above this boundary, on the Galilean uplands, in the cities and villages of the northern province, in Sepphoris, and Cana, and Nazareth, and in Perea beyond Jordan,—owned there the sway of Antipas, that son of Herod, who seems to have carried much farther even than his father did, his Grecizing tastes, which an ample revenue of two hundred talents enabled him to indulge. Those tastes were shared by his brother Philip, unto whom, as his division of their father's province, were assigned the broad moor and pasture lands north-east of the territory of Antipas. The garden city of Cæsarea, then occupied by a Syro-Grecian colony, and signalized by the white marble temple, which Herod had built in honour of Augustus, just above the old grotto of Pan, was Philip's capital. In consequence of this territorial arrangement, and in the course of a few years, a marked and most significant distinction arose between the province west of the Jordan and south of the Galilean hills, and the remainder of Palestine on the north, and to the east of it.

The province of Archelaus, which was by far the wealthiest[32] in consequence of the richness of the Samaritan and Philistine plains, retained its outward Hebrew characteristics and distinctions. And more than ever, in consequence of the rising splendour of the Temple, Jerusalem was the high place of Israel's worship, "whither the tribes," the Jews of the dispersion, "went up" on pilgrimage from all quarters of the habitable world, and to which they continually sent the most lavish contributions. There also youthful candidates for official position in the severer communities of the foreign Jews, were sent for education. Hence, besides those who dwelt in the Holy City in stern fidelity to the Hebrew faith, there was a large class there who richly profited by the renown, and sacred associations of Jerusalem.[33] These influences forced on Archelaus measures which were adapted to maintain and heighten these distinctive features of his province. He, indeed, yielded so reluctantly to these wishes of the Jewish party in the city, that they procured his deposition, after a reign of less than ten years, praying the supreme power at Rome, that, instead of the form of royalty, they might have the more secure protection of a Roman procurator

[32] Archelaus' revenue was 600 talents (235,000*l.*), being three times that which Perea and Galilee paid to Antipas. This difference, however, could not be wholly due to the greater richness of the country. It is one of the many indications that Jerusalem and its neighbourhood was the home of many wealthy Hebrews at this time.—See p. 272.

[33] Among the wealthy Hebrews named in preceding note, many derived their emoluments from the religious celebrity and services of the Holy City. The Scribes and temple officials, and the Rabbis—unto whom young Jewish students, like Saul of Tarsus, came from all parts of the world—must have derived large incomes from this source.

for the district. Still they were so far successful that a marked Jewish aspect predominated everywhere throughout Judea, over the many-tongued and costumed tribes and visitors who were living there. But north of the Esdraelon plain, Grecian influence and tastes were in the ascendancy. This was indicated by the language of the people; "the speech of a Galilean betrayed him," not only by its provincial uncouthness, but by its intermixture of Greek words and turns of phrase consequent on the almost universal prevalence of that language. More or less this difference between the provinces had always been observable in consequence of the proximity of the northern province to the Grecian settlements: while Judea leant upon the desert, Galilee was close to the Greek communities centred around Antioch. And now the personal tastes of the two rulers of this portion of Herod's kingdom encouraged the tendency, and deepened these Hellenic characteristics and distinctions.

They were most marked and prominent in the city of Philip, which, enlarged by him, was now known as Cæsarea Philippi. There, in the temple which Herod had built, and in the broad deep grotto which marks one of the sources of the Jordan, the rites of Greek and Roman worship were celebrated. Further south, the Hebrew Bethsaida was replaced by the Latin Julias. Over an extensive cemetery, where the inhabitants of Capernaum and Magdala, from the neighbouring plain, had long deposited their dead, Antipas built Tiberias. On the other side of the river, Gadara, with its two theatres; Hippos, and the remaining cities of the Decapolis, marked the same tendency. Sepphoris, on the plain of Zebulun,

became Dio Cæsarea.[34] In fact the whole country, into which one might enter, beyond the winding passes of Nazareth, at this time when He to whom one's thoughts now naturally turn was there, through His thirty years of silence and retirement, "increasing in wisdom and stature,"—was becoming more and more "Galilee of the Gentiles." Hebrew fidelity was, indeed, maintained over that whole district. But, in its resistance of prevailing influences, it had its refuge, not with "the lords, high captains, and chief estates" of the province, but rather with the humbler classes, the craftsmen in the towns, the peasantry of the numerous villages, the fishermen upon the lake. They kept apart, while the rest flocked to swell the crowds at Herod's theatrical representations. And from time to time they went up in small companies to the festivals of the Holy City, conferring there together in rebellious discontent, as these visits remind them afresh of those advancing tendencies which were the signs to them of fatal degeneracy and apostasy.[35]

Hence it came to pass that, as we now look around with intense interest to all the features of the country, so as to discern the circumstances amidst which that Life was rising up in its earlier stages, we mark frequent disturbances, outbreaks, and rebellious protests against the change that

[34] This imposition of western names was only temporary; the old Semitic designations were, in most cases, resumed as soon as the Roman dominion ceased. Dr. Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 260, 271, 374) gives some interesting illustrations of this statement.

[35] And, especially as all their sacred historical associations clustered around sites in the south of Palestine. It must be remembered that our biblical familiarity with Galilee is entirely derived from the New Testament—*i. e.* from events which were occurring in it at this very time. In the older Scriptures it is seldom alluded to.—Stanley, *Sinai and Palest.* p. 356.

was passing over the people and the land. One who, during those years, would often take his station on the hill upon the slope of which Nazareth was built, might thence, as He turned His eyes northwards over the Buttauf plain, frequently see hosts of soldiers advancing for the punishment of some rebellious outbreak, or for the execution of the rebels or assassins who had been apprehended in that neighbourhood.[36] One of the most serious of these outbreaks, in which all Galilee must have been involved, took place immediately after, and in consequence of, the deposition of Archelaus. The increased tribute for which, eleven years before, an enrolment had been made under Cyrenius, as chief Commissioner, was now enforced when he came into Syria as President, and nominated Coponius as his procurator, to whom the civil power of Archelaus was transferred in Cæsarea. This taxing was made more odious to the people by the fact that it was farmed by residents in their towns and villages. The "receipts of customs," or tax offices, were in the midst of them: this badge of degradation, fastened on them with inexorable severity, was continually in view; and their restless impatience,

[36] "The ascent to Wely Said, or Ismail, from the town is but the labour of a few minutes, and the hill top has always been a favourite place of resort for the inhabitants. One cannot doubt, therefore, that the wide expanse which opened before us when we reached the top of the Wely which is built on the summit of the hill, was one that often met His view. All we saw yesterday (in crossing the plain of Esdraelon), excepting the lower part of Tabor, was clearly visible. Carmel, and the white shore of the Mediterranean around Acre, the sea beyond, and the distant peak of Hermon, came into the prospect. On the north side we had a view of the plain of El-Buttauf, of Seffurieh (Sepphoris), and of Kâna el-Jelîl (Cana; Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 346). Then, looking down just below, every part of the town lay there outstretched before us, and all the fifteen hills which enclose it were in sight."—J. May 18th.

under this heavy impost, exasperated still more the discontent of some at seeing the gradual heathenizing of the province, and it shed fresh venom into the ill feelings existing between them and their Gentile neighbours and fellow citizens. Of this feeling many leaders of rebel bands, some of them being fanatics, some mere banditti, eagerly availed themselves, and in the instance just alluded to, with conspicuous success. Judas of Galilee, whether patriot or brigand, "drew away," at this very time, "much people" to follow him. Intrenched in the spacious caves of the ravine running up from the Genessareth plain west of Tiberias, that had harboured the robber bands who were driven out by Herod, in his youth, it was a long time before they were subdued.[37] But the outbreak, though quelled for the time, disclosed such inquietude and discontent, that larger bodies of troops were draughted into the country. Centurions with their bands of profligate soldiers who corrupted female virtue, and "did violence, advancing false accusations" for the sake of gain, were to be found in every considerable town, such as Nazareth and Capernaum, Cana and Sepphoris. In some instances, the personal excellence, the high breeding, the liberality and good intentions, made the officers tolerable, even acceptable to the Hebrew townsmen.[38] But all felt the increase of their numbers as an indignity. Those of the

[37] His followers, however, reappeared in the Jewish war, and one of his descendants headed the fanatics who took such an important part in that insurrection. Of Theudas and his adherents we hear nothing. His followers "were scattered and *brought to nought.*" Those of Judas were only "*dispersed.*"—Acts v. 36.

[38] It is interesting to compare the statements of Polybius respecting the centurions of the Roman army with the notices of them in the New Testa-

people especially who were earnest in their fidelity to Judaism—in addition to the personal uneasiness it occasioned them—marked it as another sign of the dangers they were in of losing their most valued distinctions, and of being absorbed in the heathenism around them.

Their own monarch, too, was now less disposed than heretofore to attend to their remonstrances, for the presence of the new procurator at Cæsarea, with the jealous eye of a foreigner, and of an imperial deputy, upon his movements, would hold him farther apart than ever from any transaction that might be construed into resistance to the Roman Government. This new arrangement had naturally intensified all the party feeling that had before existed. Being under the protection of the Roman procurator, with no native sovereign to control them, the Judean provinces became more intensely Jewish than ever: the characteristic distinctions between them and the Galileans were deepened and confused. The Jews in Galilee felt still more their disparagement; while Herod, in his desire to avoid offence at Rome, and to be on friendly terms with the neighbouring potentate at Cæsarea, would be still more ostentatious in putting forward his Roman tastes, and his disapproval of what he would call the narrow fanaticism of his Jewish subjects.

Hence it arose that, in the closing years of the period we

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ment, Matt. viii. and xxvii.; Acts x. and xxvii. He states (vi. 24) that they were "*chosen by merit*;" and were men not so much remarkable for their daring courage, as for "*their deliberation, constancy, and strength of mind; who, not eager in beginning a battle, would keep their ground, however hardly pressed, and determined to die, rather than leave their post.*" Such precisely were the men of whom the Evangelists inform us.—

have now reached, there was over the whole country increased excitement, discontent, and restless expectation. Throughout the Judean provinces—no repressing influence being at hand to hinder the free development of these tendencies, this development being rather protected by the Roman power—the old national hope and spirit rose and strengthened; and this tendency was enhanced by the clear indication of the sacred books, that a great era in their history was nigh at hand.[39] This feeling and influence soon communicated itself to the Jewish families in Galilee; it exasperated their hatred to the Roman power, and to every tendency in their own government that inclined to it; and it occasioned feelings which were only kept in subjection by armed force. This was used with unsparing severity by Herod, in his anxiety to approve his fidelity to the Roman power, or in his dread of the extreme measures which he knew were meditated by the insurgents.

The largeness of their purposes, and the strength of the passions by which they were animated, were unknown to the emperor, or to his representative at Cæsarea, who exercised from that city a more indulgent sway over the people in Judea. For Cæsarea was now virtually and formally the capital of the Jewish kingdom. The style of the city and its resources, its baths and theatres, the constant arrivals in its harbour of shipping from Egypt and Rome, and the large preponderance in the city of the Greek over the Jewish population, made it unspeakably

[39] Dan. ix. 25. Comp. Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 5; Sueton. *Vita Vespas.* § 4; Tacit. *Histor.* v. 13; Virgil *Eclog.* iv.

more agreeable as a residence for the Roman governor, during the period of his colonial administration, than Jerusalem, with its bare and rocky neighbourhood, and its crowded, turbulent populace could have been. Cæsarea was, accordingly, the seat of the Jewish government. The deputy of the procurator, who was himself only the subordinate of the president of Syria, occupied the regal palace upon Zion; and the procurator himself only went up there on great occasions, when, in the possibility of tumult, on the chief festivals, and especially at the celebration of the passover, his overawing presence was required.[40]

The Jewish party in the city was therefore only seldom under severe control, and this arrangement well suited the strong and kindling spirit that was growing and strengthening in stormy vehemence year by year, amidst the populace. This spirit was not repressed by the inferior Roman deputy, as it would have been if they had had a king of their own, such as Archelaus had been, or such as Antipas then was in Galilee. The captain of the temple, as he looked down from his tower in Antonia upon the groups in the open court below him, or on the gatherings in the suburbs, gazed contemptuously on their excited strifes, and often, in imitation of the venality and corrupt avarice of his principal at Cæsarea, used, for a bribe, his power in the service of the wealthier participators in the party contests.

[40] The city contained an agora, a prætorian palace, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and, in fact, "it was provided with everything that could contribute to magnificence, amusement, and health." . . . Its great harbour was equal in size to the Piræus, and was called the Augustan harbour, as the city itself was called Augustan Cæsarea. Every object bore a Roman impress, so that few colonial positions could have been more agreeable than this to a Roman soldier or official, in what he would regard as his temporary exile.

He had example enough to sanction and encourage him in such proceedings; for at this time, large sums of money were habitually paid to the procurator, who had the appointment to the high priesthood in his hands, by those who, for party ends, or from individual ambition, desired to occupy that station. No less than five persons held it during the first twenty years after the institution of the procuratorship, and all of them had paid over sums of money to the patron of the office. One after the other, from Ananus, or Annas, to Caiaphas, his son-in-law, he had been appointed who could remit to Cæsarea a sum large enough to satisfy the avarice of the Roman official who was there in chief authority. Such corrupt practices were rather encouraged than discountenanced by his instructions, which, besides putting this nomination into his hands, chiefly urged on him the maintenance of political order and tranquillity, and the exact collection, and punctual remittance of all the tribute, for which the province had been assessed, under the enrolment and consequent taxation, already mentioned.[41]

That one of the procurators who is most interesting to us, is also that one about whom, and of whose character and proceedings, we have fullest information. Four had already preceded Pontius Pilate in office, and the chief offences they were charged with appear to have been rapacity and

[41] Cicero's letters, describing his administration of his province, imply distinctly enough the practices of the Roman governors in the matters of extortion and bribery. These officials were such as he describes Appius, his predecessor in Cilicia, to have been (*Ep. ad Att.* vi. 1; *ad Fam.* xv. 4). Comp. Acts xxiv. 26 and Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 14. See also the severe remarks on the oppressive extortions of the provincial governors which Tacitus (*Annal.* iii. 54) puts into the mouth of Tiberius.

extortion. Their one rule of action was apparently that, when satisfied with money, they would not vexatiously interfere with any movements in the city that were not of such a nature as to be injuriously reported to their principal at Antioch. Bribes and connivance describe their conduct; and their scornful contempt of what they deemed a fanatical race, as well as their avarice, kept them on terms of amity with the ruler in the north, as well as with the thriving Samaritans in the middle of the country, who maintained, through the wealth derived from their commerce and their rich estates, a position of considerable importance amongst the communities around them.[42] Neither they, nor their neighbours on the south, were likely to be disturbed by the men—careless of the fanaticism, or of the convictions of those whom they were placed over, so that their own habits of self-indulgence were not interfered with—who were Pilate's predecessors at Cæsarea. But, whether from levity, or from idolatrous fanaticism does not appear, he was induced to depart from the now long-established usage of easy toleration, and to place himself in opposition to convictions, with which he would certainly not have meddled if he had better acquainted himself with the temper of the people. In conformity with their lucrative policy of conciliation, the former procurators, when they despatched the Roman cohorts from Cæsarea, had always given orders that their sculptured standards, the eagle, the effigy of the

[42] Most of the richest estates, "the fatness" of the country (p. 95), were in their possession. Their compatriots in Alexandria were amongst the wealthiest men in the city; and, even earlier than the Jews who were there, they carried on an extensive commerce in the Mediterranean. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54.

emperor, the symbol of victory—should remain behind, and that no military signs, except their worked and painted banners, should be carried among the people, who then demanded a strictly literal obedience to the injunction which forbids a graven image to be made of any creature under heaven. Pilate disregarded this scruple; the standards were conveyed by stealth into the city; and then, to the horror of "the chief priests, and Scribes, and Pharisees, and elders of the people," they were raised aloft, on the palace upon Mount Zion, and on the walls of the barracks on the north-west of the temple. There they were seen, overshadowing the holy place. One approaching the city from the north would behold them conjoined and blended in his view, with the pinnacle of the sanctuary itself. The urgent vehemence of the deputation which, in consequence, instantly set off for Cæsarea, the threats of an appeal to Tiberius himself, compelled Pilate to recall his orders: the offensive symbols were lowered and removed. But, in malicious revenge for this defeat, he is said to have plundered the temple treasury itself, and to have diverted funds that were bringing the great building slowly to completion, in order to carry forward a useless and expensive enterprise.[43]. This occasioned complaints,

[43] This was his construction of an aqueduct for the purpose of bringing water into Jerusalem from a source twenty-five miles distant (*Antiq.* xviii. 3). Elsewhere (*B. J.* ii. 9) Josephus doubles this distance; perhaps, however, referring in the former case to the distance of the source, in the other to the meanderings, of the stream. This aqueduct is generally identified with that of which the remains are now seen along the road from Wady Urtas to Bethlehem (Ritter's *Erdk.* xvi. p. 276). But Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 316) gives conclusive reasons against this identification, and says that no vestige of Pilate's aqueduct now exists.

which he punished by the cruel murder of the remonstrants. He had thus, in the outset of this administration, deserted the accommodating policy of his predecessors, and vexatiously opposed the Jewish usages and feelings; while, at the same time, he was not more moderate and scrupulous than they had been in his exactions. Even Herod Antipas, with all his Roman tastes and dislike for Judaism, in any but its laxest forms, was indignant at these outrages. Enmity between him and Pilate was the result; and now, whenever the requirements of his office brought the procurator up into the city, or into any official intercourse with its inhabitants, he was received with distrust and jealousy, and with murmured threats. They knew that, by reporting his misdeeds to the emperor, they had the power of removing him from his office, whenever they thought proper to exert it; and yet, while conscious of his contempt for them, they were willing to tolerate him, rather than run the risk of receiving one even more unscrupulous as his successor.

Herod of Galilee, though still retaining his profession of Judaism, only went up to Jerusalem occasionally, on the great feasts. The tone of the city, the coolness manifested towards him by the zealous Hebrews, who were there on the festival occasions, his enmity with Pilate,—all made Jerusalem distasteful to him. Hence the permanent residents in the city—those who were there from zealous attachment to the ancestral faith, and those, too, who reaped large profits from its religious associations and celebrity, were left, during the procuratorship of Pilate, even more free than they had before been, to indulge their party feelings, or their zeal—their factiousness, or their fanaticism. But

few of the thoughtful and devout, and of the intelligently earnest Hebrews, were to be found among them. For them one would have looked, at that time, rather to the ascetic communities in the valleys of the Kedron, and in the sterile and scorched rocks of the wilderness bordering on the Dead Sea;[44] and they might, too, have been found amidst the frugal rustic families, the vine-dressers, and the herdsmen, that were living in the numerous villages in "the hill country of Judea." Any rumour, such as that which reached them at this time, of "a prophet in the wilderness," would collect them in large numbers upon the spot where their forefathers had crossed over the river to take possession of the west of their promised territory. On the other side of Jordan, in the Perean provinces, and especially amongst the rich towns that were built on the edge of the forests, and on the fertile hill-slopes, of Gilead, there was a population like that of Galilee, with a large predominance of the Gentile element. Here, in this part of the country, there was, however, comparative tranquillity. The Bedouins hovering on its eastern border, and the powerful Arabian kingdom of Petra on the south, gave its inhabitants occupation enough in defending their country, so that no leisure remained for intestine quarrels, or for national outbreaks and rebellion. Besides, there was the strong and gloomy fortress-prison of Machærus, built on the frowning heights which overhang the Dead Sea, there to overwhelm them. Meanwhile, Galilee continued to be what we have seen it, restless and inflammable. Its Jewish and Grecian population, blended, but not associated and

[44] Josephus estimates the number of the Essenes at this time at 4,000. See note, p. 247.

accordant, silenced but not tranquillized by the presence of the armed force, was suffering from the depredations of bandits and fanatics, and oppressed by the heavy exactions of its ruler; ready, therefore, and eager for any messenger, for any enterprise, that gave them promise of successful revolt, and of hopeful, however perilous, insurrection.[45]

We must add to our view of the districts of this small Syrian province, the aspect cast over them by the home politics of Rome, then governed by the profligate Tiberius and his plotting ministers and discontented generals, and we may then see Palestine as it was during those three years which have fastened on it the regards of all nations, to the end of time, and made it the most conspicuous and central region in the world. The men, the races, the interests, we now discern there, moved on through those years, continuous with the years preceding and following them, wholly unconscious of their significance. Looking again, in a recapitulatory survey, over the country—we pass onwards from the gay Syrian Greeks of Cæsarea Philippi, proud of the noble and the romantic shrines which distinguished their new city, and, making our way among the shepherds of the wide Gaulanite plain, and the herdsmen, with the fat bulls of Bashan, around the Merom Lake, we come down to the Sea of Tiberias. There we find the centurion, with his rude profligate soldiers, quartered in the villages; degraded women are amongst them; there are rabbis of the synagogue, and the fishermen, and the

[45] This popular feeling was reflected in the gross and worldly notions entertained by our Lord's disciples respecting his kingdom, and from which they were not freed until after the day of Pentecost.—Matt. xx. 20; Acts i. 6.

publican, conscious of the scorn poured on him, and the brigands from the neighbouring hills—all those familiar groups, among whom, in that sultry valley, ONE, unknown by them, then lived and toiled, would meet us in our journey. Had we, still going southward, ascended one of the eminences in that region, the fortified height of Tabor, or one of the hills above Nazareth, we should have seen, in the numerous towns and villages outstretched in view, the homes of just such a population as those we had left in Capernaum and Tiberias. Gamala and Gadara across the river, with their colonnades, their baths, their theatres and temples, would be included in the prospect.[46] The sea and the crowded shipping in the harbour of Ptolemais would have reminded us of the busy ports of Tyre and Sidon just above, and the outspread sails whitening the horizon would indicate some new arrival of merchandise or troops, or perhaps of pilgrims, to the magnificent city of Cæsarea, in the south. Descending and going on still southward, we should have overtaken many-tongued and many-costumed groups, some of them in devout and

[46] There was a fortified town on Mount Tabor at this time, though its walls had fallen into decay.—Relandi *Palæstina*, 599. The wall was *restored* by Josephus, (not built, as he says,) in the Jewish war.—*B. J.* iv. 1. For an excellent description of the view from the summit, see Dr. Stewart's *Tent and Khan*, p. 436. About the fourth century, the mountain was fixed on as the scene of our Lord's transfiguration, which it could not have been, since that event plainly occurred in the neighbourhood of Banias (Cæsarea Philippi), and in a place which was uninhabited and solitary. There can be little question that the scene of the event was one of the spurs of Hermon, just above Cæsarea Philippi. "High up on the southern slopes (of the great mountain) there must be many a point where the disciples could be taken apart by themselves! Even the transient comparison with the snow, where alone it could be (always) seen in Palestine, should not, perhaps, be wholly overlooked."—Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 392.

contemplative pilgrimage to the great scenes of their ancestral history, of the exploits of their prophets and warrior kings, to Carmel and Tabor, and Jezreel, to Megiddo and to Gilboa and Modin. Hurrying past Sebaste, with its memories of the Samaria it had succeeded, and Shechem, and only pausing at Bethel for a while—Jerusalem, with its populous and spacious suburbs, would at length come in sight. We pass through the crowded outskirts of the city, and enter it by the Ephraim gate, surprised to hear the artisans still at work in the temple courts. There are the groups that are so familiar of stately Pharisees and wily Scribes, and Sadducees urbane and complaisant. In Antonia, we might have seen the soldier sorrowfully comparing the bleak or scorched bareness of the land, with his luxuriant valley under the genial skies of Italy, or perhaps with his fatherland in the deep shades of German forests, or under the glaciers of his pine-clad Alps. Leaving the temple and the city, and going through the lonely haunts of the Essenes, near the shores of the mist-covered sepulchral sea, then past the towers and vine-presses of Bethlehem, and under the shadow of Herod's sepulchre, we should at length reach Hebron and the Idumean towns, where Esau's sons, blended with the posterity of Jacob, were established on the old pastures of the wilderness.

Through all these scenes and men, we should have seen where He was, where He suffered and taught during those three years. And in the great event that ended them, one thus going to and fro—unconscious, as the men around him, of what was transpiring in those solemn hours—would have marked only another of the now common outbreaks of turbulent feeling, one of the "feast-days'

uproar" among the people. The triumphal entrance into the city; the secret conference of Judas with the priests; the noisy tumultuous mob rushing down the slopes of Moriah with their swords and staves; the company hurrying with their prisoner through the moon-lighted city streets, meeting the passover groups who, even at that late hour, were abroad; again, the hasty examinations at the house of the high-priest, and in the council-chamber of the temple; then the hurrying to and fro in the early morning of the day following, from Pilate to Herod, from Herod back again to Pilate; all these incidents, and the noisy, tumultuous, frantic outcries of the mob—all were in the order and pattern of events continually happening for years past in that excited city. The great event itself, The Death, was in the likeness of those that were being continually inflicted! Were there not "two others" then crucified with Him? Most probably that centurion "and they who were with him," had attended more than one execution on that same place, Golgotha. There had been others not long before, and others followed it soon afterwards. Pilate recked nothing of the great occurrence, and Herod was unconscious of its significance. They did not connect His death with what they would call the natural portents that had accompanied it, but the feast being ended, they went away from the city, each thinking more of their mutual reconciliation than of the slight tumult that had been so followed, they would say, by the execution of the ringleader.[47]

[47] Crucifixion was the ordinary punishment inflicted by the Romans in cases of sedition, and it was on *this* charge our Lord was condemned by Pilate. Such executions were continually taking place in Palestine; and, thirty years

They, and the Jews in office, who had been actively engaged in that great deed, and through whom Judea did indeed come forward, as the more faithful of them anticipated—thought more of the change in the politics of the land which occurred, in that same year, through the death of Philip in the north, whose dominions were consequently added to the Roman territory in Syria, that stretched down to them from Antioch. In this event, any special interest connected with the occurrences of that Passover, was soon absorbed; and it was shortly followed by another change in their fortunes of still greater moment. This was the removal of Pontius Pilate from office, in consequence of his cruelty on the occasion of the rising among the Samaritans. The change brought the great functionary, the Emperor's Syrian legate himself into Jerusalem; and while he was there, changing the succession of the high priesthood, the news of the death of Tiberius came.

In this event we reach the close of that period of the history we have been reviewing. Another series of changes, laden with momentous import, swept over the surface of Palestine. And, in the midst of them, we may now observe and trace the expansion of the Hebrew Church into the Kingdom of the Son of Man.

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before this time, 2,000 Jews—so Josephus says, but probably with his usual exaggeration of numbers—were crucified at one time.—*Antiq.* xvii. 10. Comp. also *B. J.* ii. 12, 14; *Vita*, v. 75; *Ant.* xx. 6. On the place of the crucifixion, see Barclay's *City of the Great King*, pp. 78–80.

CHAPTER IX.

JERUSALEM IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

This designation, "Kingdom of the Son of Man," describes the character in which the Hebrew Church was henceforth to stand before the world. It had hitherto maintained its witness of the heavenly order of existence, and of the truth of God, amongst the descendants of Abraham, and by means of them. But now, the purpose of their election having been accomplished, others were called to maintain their testimony. It was now to be committed, in gradual progress unto all the families of men, until the revelation of Divine truth was again universal, as it had been in that primeval settlement in which their separate races had originated.

We have here reached the beginning of this enlargement, and that which has hitherto been the home of the Hebrew Church, becomes the centre of its expansion.[1]

[1] We are familiar in the New Testament with the western expansion of the Church, but its progress in the south and east was not less remarkable. The "Parthians and Medes, and Elamites, the dwellers in Mesopotamia . . . and in Egypt" (Acts ii. 9) who heard Peter's sermon, would carry a report of it to their respective homes, and prepare the way for the labours of Thomas, of Matthew, and of Mark, in those regions. See Fabricius, *Lux Evangelii*,

Now, in its outward progress, it leaves Palestine, carrying with it, as it widens and spreads throughout the world, manifold influences from the condition of this country, and from the momentous events which there transpired in the next period of its history. Our survey of these movements, and of that condition, illustrated from the sources already used, must, therefore, be still continued all through this stage, in fulfilment of our purpose. In the beginning of that outward progress of the Church, the work of its agents, and the success with which their work was carried forward, along with the influences which wrought on them, were all affected, modified, and in some instances controlled, by the events of which this ancient Church Land of the Hebrews was the scene, and our realization of those events, in forms as accurate and vivid as possible, is, therefore, essential to our comprehension of the earliest period of the history of the Kingdom of the Son of Man.[2]

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pp. 94–115. Palestine was literally the centre of that Church expansion, which was now going forward; and never was the significance of its local relations, as the place of all others best fitted to be the source of an universal light, more significant than at this time.

[2] How considerable the influence of events in Palestine was in its effects upon the Church's progress, will appear when we remember that the first missionaries went, as Jews, into Jewish communities. They, and all to whom their message was, in the first instance, delivered, looked to the Holy Land as their home. And where this local tie did not exist, as in the case of the Gentile converts, it was formed by the profession of the Christian faith. All the events consequently that transpired in the native home of the Church must have powerfully affected all the affiliated churches wherever they were now established. And for tracing the course of those events, our sources of information, though fragmentary, are sufficient. Our distinct knowledge of the condition of the country at the beginning of this period; the significant notices in the Acts and the Epistles; the detailed narrative of Josephus; and the numerous incidental allusions in the contemporary historians (*e.g.* Tacitus, Suetonius), and in Dion Cassius, throw

The main course of the events which interest us in this view, directs our attention to the south of Palestine, and there mainly to the Holy City and its neighbourhood. Those excited feelings which would have made an instrument of Him whom "they sought to take by force, that they might make Him a king," continued over the whole land, to the end of Pilate's government, and were heightened into exasperation by the thought that the era of deliverance marked out by the prophetic books was passing away.[3] At length, however, the spirit of the Jews was quieted in Galilee, by the accession of Agrippa; first, to the dominions of Philip; and then, in further token of imperial favour, to those of Antipas. In the profligate levity of his earlier course he had learned the art of conciliating all parties. His adroit pliancy to all gusts of feeling, bending beneath that he might not be overthrown by them, and not any earnest, sincere conviction of his own, caused him to profess such a zeal for Judaism as tranquillized, if it did not beguile, the more zealous spirits of Northern Palestine.[4] There was con-

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such light on the condition of Palestine from this period to the taking of Jerusalem (thirty years), that we see the course of its history, on from year to year, as distinctly as in the case of any single generation in the past that can be named.

[3] Note, p. 286. And now, as time was passing away, there was less prospect than ever, on any secular ground of computation, that their expectations would be fulfilled in the sense in which they entertained them. The Roman power was extending itself, and becoming more firmly established than ever. Still they could not relinquish their great hope; and, in the absence of any natural support, they began to fortify it by such vague fanatical conjectures as naturally heightened their excitement.

[4] An excellent outline of Agrippa's early history, as it is related by Josephus, is given by Milman (*History of Jews*, ii. 163–168). Few biographies of more romantic interest have ever been written; and, all through, it

sequently a cessation of the popular excitements that had been so common in Galilee; and Samaria also was now at peace. But, in Jerusalem and its southern neighbourhood, there was increased excitement and commotion. Caligula had begun his persecution of the Jews in Egypt; and, when the procurator now came up from Cæsarea, scowls and angry discontent continually met him as the representative of the power that was inflicting the wrongs which the pilgrims who had arrived from Egypt described themselves as suffering.[5] But worse was still to come; and then, indeed, "Jerusalem was in an uproar," when the announcement reached them that the temple, whose ancient holiness and whose rising and now nearly completed splendour were their chief boast, was to be desecrated by an image of the emperor. Again the palace of the high priest, and the council chamber in the temple were the scenes of anxious consultations; angry crowds again surged and roared before the pavement and the judgment seat. If that indignity were permitted, everything for which they had lived was gone!

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betrays a character in the highest degree artful and unscrupulous. Jost (*Gesch. des Judenthums*, b. iii. c. xiv.) relates some curious Jewish traditions respecting Agrippa which remarkably illustrate this view of his character.

[5] This persecution was begun, in consequence of the Jews' resistance to that requisition of worship which was made universally throughout the empire. Only the Jews were likely to resist it; and it is plain, from the course events afterwards took, that the emperor had not reckoned on the seriousness of the opposition it met with on their parts. In fact, he was on the point of relinquishing it, in their case, when he was killed. —Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*; and Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 8. Jerusalem, on the occasions of the meeting at their annual festivals of the more zealous Jews from all their communities throughout the world, would naturally be the focus of this excitement.

The rumour was true, for the new emperor, insane with the giddy height of his unexpected elevation, could not brook that this small province, one of the narrowest and poorest that owned his sway, should make their boast of such high claims and prerogatives, as in the course of the recent outbreaks in Egypt, he had heard that they put forward. He would enforce their absolute submission; and their distinctive law and protest against image-worship furnished the means of doing this, and the test of his success. The feelings which were kindled by this mad outrage united all the zealous Jews through Palestine, "in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee," and carried their regards outwards from all their own controversies and contentions. Those among them who held, in the Christian faith, the true interpretation of their hopes, and whose numbers after the late dispersion would be at this time comparatively few, were unmolested.[6] They now gathered strength for their future efforts. There was no reason to disturb them, for they either looked with indifference upon this new struggle, or—which may have been the case with the majority—they may have taken an active part in it, feeling equally aggrieved by the injury which the emperor wished to inflict upon their nation. The

[6] Lardner (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 101, 102) was the first to suggest that the "rest" spoken of (Acts ix. 31) was the result of the absorbed interest of the Jews in resisting this aggression of the emperor, leaving them no leisure for the persecution of the infant sect that had risen up amongst them. But, perhaps, more than this may be affirmed. Would not the Christians themselves take part in that resistance? They still attended the temple services in token of their national standing, and still celebrated the sacrifices as sacramental memorials of the Messiah's death (Johnstone's *Israel after the Flesh*, chs. ii. and viii.), and very naturally they might now make common cause with their countrymen against this idolatrous aggression.

uproar, in consequence, became so serious that the men in power were appalled when they saw what passions the insanity of their ruler had inflamed. They postponed their obedience to Caligula's decree; and then the serviceable intercession of Agrippa, who was himself at this period in Rome, caused it to be revoked. So this storm, also, which had so heaved afresh that scene of many agitations, was lulled and stilled, and now for some years. For the messengers who brought the intelligence of Agrippa's success in procuring the revocation of Caligula's decree, were soon succeeded by those who came to tell that the tyrant himself had been assassinated, and that his successor, in gratitude for the services which Agrippa—who was adroit, and scheming, and successful everywhere—had rendered him, had appointed the popular monarch of Galilee to the royalty of Judea. So that the sceptre of the first Herod was in his hands, and all the provinces of Western Palestine were again under the dominion of a native king.[7]

It was quite natural that, in his new station, he should not abandon the policy that had been so successful in lifting him from the position of a strolling prodigal to an equality with his great ancestors. And, accordingly, Golgotha now witnessed the execution of victims to popular

[7] We say of Western *Palestine*, since there is good reason to believe that Aretas, King of Arabia, whose capital was Petra, was, at this time, by donation of the emperor, in possession of Damascus.—See authorities quoted by Conyb. and Hows. *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. iii. If this were the case, he must also have been the chief ruler of the country lying between these two cities—*i.e.* of Eastern Palestine or Perea; and with this agree other intimations of the history.—See notes, pp. 321, 337. This large and important deduction from the territories of his grandfather must be made in reckoning the dominions of Agrippa.

cries of bigotry, and the prisons were filled with them.[8] The outcries of this fanaticism were now louder in consequence of their reviving hopes; for, just at this time, they were in unexpected favour in the imperial city. "The mysteriousness of their belief, or rather, perhaps, the earnestness of its devotees, now exercised an extraordinary influence on the Roman mind. . . . The name of its first expounder was held in honour, its sacred books were not unknown, the glowing imagery of their sacred poetry was studied and reproduced. Its sacred buildings were crowded, its holy days observed, its antique traditions were respected."[9] These things were soon known in Jerusalem from the pilgrims who came up to the Holy City. And we can easily imagine what great expectations would be excited by the intelligence! Now, too, the completion of the Temple was far advanced. Fresh materials of decoration, brought up from the quays at Cæsarea, and from the Phœnician marts, were lavished on it. And another wall was built to enclose the outlying population in the northern suburbs of the city.[10]

[8] James and Peter were not the only victims of this persecution. The τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, of whom St. Luke speaks as having been harrassed by him, would include numbers from the Christian societies in the cities of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee (Acts ix. 31), where this unscrupulous monarch was paramount. He would not hesitate to apprehend them whenever his doing so would "please the Jews."

[9] Merivale's *History of Rome*, vol. vi. 258; 259. Comp. also Stanley's *Apostolical Age*, pp. 202–3.

[10] This wall was begun under the Emperor Claudius, and therefore near the close of Agrippa's life.—Joseph. *B. J.* v. 4. For the best account of its range and direction, see Barclay's *City of the Great King*, pp. 134–5, with the accompanying plan of Ancient Jerusalem. The fact that it was built by Agrippa, or at least begun by him, only twelve years after the Crucifixion, appears to be a decisive proof that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre does not stand on the site of that event, since Josephus (*l. c.*)

In fact, the three years of Agrippa's occupancy of Herod's throne were years of more freedom, and of more indulgence, to Jewish zeal and prejudices than that generation, or indeed its predecessor, had ever known. The occupants of the northern district were more closely associated with their compatriots in Judea, and their ancient commercial relations with the great mercantile cities on the coast were renewed. Agrippa's popularity amongst the Jews of his own and of the foreign communities, was continually on the increase; and all murmurings against him, on the part of Greek, or Roman, or of heathenizing Jews, were quelled and absorbed in the outcries of impious, even blasphemous, adulation.[11]

We may estimate his favour towards his countrymen, and his consequent severity towards Christ's followers, by the indecent joy with which the tidings of his grievous and humiliating death were received by the cohorts of Cæsarea. The colonnades, the theatres, which not long since echoed with the godless flattery addressed to him, now resounded with shouts of exultation over his corpse

expressly says that this wall was built to protect the population outside the second wall. Whatever, then, may have been the direction of this (the second) wall, the site of the sepulchre, at all events, must have been covered with houses at this time. Let me here refer again to what I cannot but regard as the true location of the great event which is mentioned in note, p. 296.

[11] As, for instance, on the "set day" (*τακτῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, Acts; *δευτέρᾳ τῶν Θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ*, Joseph.), when arrayed in "royal apparel" (*ἱσθῆτα βασιλικήν*, Acts; *ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν*, Joseph.), he sat upon his throne, and made his oration unto them. The splendour of Cæsarea, which was still the capital of the province (p. 271, and note, p. 287), and the extent of the Greek and Roman population, over whom he was supreme, will account for, and partly excuse, the exultation felt by the Jews at this time, as they dwelt on the greatness of Agrippa, and approached him with their flatteries.

and sepulchre. Those sounds heralded a reversal of the late procedures which had made Judea so glad and proud. The procurators who now, in consequence of the youth of Agrippa's son, resumed their former place and rule, came there with stronger motives for tyranny and extortion. That temporary favour which had been shown towards Judaism in Rome, had been succeeded by abhorrence; and the city was now instructing them in lessons of more profligate expenditure, which led them, in prospect of their return there, to employ every pretext and opportunity to enrich themselves.[12] The old series of tumults followed. "False Messiahs arose and deceived many," and their excesses gave an excuse and vindication for severities which increased the exasperation of the people. In some of them the pure national feeling had recently been afresh awakened by Agrippa's protection and munificence. The increased intercourse between north and south—the augmenting company of devout pilgrims, who now availed themselves of the enlarged and busy commerce of the Mediterranean to visit the sacred places of Jewish history—had raised to a higher pitch of intensity, their zeal and affection for their ancient land, and these feelings were now outraged, with indecent scorn, by the cohorts of their oppressors. Now, too, besides the fanatics of the country, the bandits[13] of the north again assembled in their old

[12] See note, p. 288. The restraint which was, at least professedly, placed by Tiberius on the home expenditure, and on the avarice of officials, must have been entirely removed by the shameless extravagance and avarice of Caligula (see *Suet. Calig.*); nor was the feeble Claudius likely to mitigate the evil. It was not reduced until the time of Vespasian.—*Tac. Ann.* iii. 55.

[13] See Josephus' *Life*, cxxvi. That "the freebooters" (mentioned by him

lurking places. In all parts of the land, marauding parties assailed villages or caravans, wherever plunder was in reach. And, worse than all, disguised assassins, mingling with crowds in the theatres and temples, relieved, by the strange and secret murder of their adversaries, those malignant emotions which again heaved and raged in volcanic fires among the people.[14]

Fabius and Alexander, severe as their administration was felt to be after the indulgence of Agrippa, were succeeded by one who changed into scorpions the rods with which they had scourged their victims. This was Cumanus, who, himself looking with scorn upon Jewish convictions, and with hatred upon their bigoted intolerance, encouraged the indecent outrages with which the legionaries, fresh from the gay enjoyments of Rome, and from their comparatively pleasant quarters at Cæsarea, indemnified themselves for their exile of mortification in a gloomy city, amongst a narrow-minded people.[15] Those

in this place) "should have dared to enter a town in broad day, driving their spoil before them, and a town which was then the head-quarters of the Jewish general and governor of the province, indicates plainly enough what the state of the country was at this time. . . . ."—Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. p. cxli. The transaction occurred on the Esdraelon plain, and the robbers lived in a village beneath Tabor on the west. This fact must be noted in connection with the commerce that was then carried forward in the direction named in note, p. 313.

[14] Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. It was by the agency of these assassins that Felix procured the murder of Jonathan, the high priest.—Comp. Acts xxiii. 15. "On account of this" (enormity of private assassination), says the historian, "I think that God, hating the impiety of these men, rejected the city, and, no longer deeming the temple a pure abode, brought the Romans on us, and cast purifying fire on the city, and slavery on us, with our wives and children, with this intention—that we, being instructed by our calamities, might return to a sound mind."

[15] So they must have looked on the station in Jerusalem, ignorant, or careless, of its historical interest. What was there, in or around the

outrages took effect upon Christ's followers, as well as upon the Jews, among whom, indeed, they would be undistinguished, and compelled many of them to leave the city and the southern provinces. Those, the Judaizers of the Church, who remained, and who, under the influences of birth, sympathized with their countrymen, joined in that revolt when the high-spirited people rose, and punished their oppressors with terrible revenge. This gave the procurator occasion for perpetrating cruelties which were soon punished by his removal. Cumanus went, and then the Cæsarean palace received that occupant on whom the Roman historian indelibly stamped his brand, when he described Felix as a man exercising royal power with the spirit of a slave. For six years this sensual, cruel, and, need it be said, extortionate man, was he to whom, as agent of the imperial will, this high-spirited people had to look as arbitrator in their quarrels, and as the holder of almost uncontrolled power over their fortunes, and privileges, and their lives.[16]

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mountain city, to attract them? Its severe vicissitudes of climate, its bare and dreary neighbourhood, and, still more, the morose, intolerant character of its inhabitants, made it, to the Roman, worse than the dreariest of the colonial settlements is now to our official representatives, civil or military, who are stationed in them. For a collection of notices of Jerusalem, by heathen authors, showing the light in which they regarded it, see Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. cxxvi., vii.

[16] After the removal of Cumanus, who held office in Galilee when Felix was appointed over the southern provinces (*Tacit. Ann.* xii. 54, where, by "Samaria," he must mean the whole of Southern Palestine), this latter had sway over the whole country. It was over the entire kingdom of Agrippa that he exercised the "jus regium," with the "servile ingenium" of which the Roman historian speaks. The notices of his endeavours to extort bribes from St. Paul, and the topics on which the Apostle addressed him, agree perfectly with the branding mark which Tacitus has fixed on him. No fitter themes than "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," could have

How they regarded him, and what lordly contempt was hidden beneath the obsequious submission with which they held their needful communications with their slave-souled ruler, we can imagine. The men who were ready then, and who, in less than twenty years afterwards, did actually sacrifice themselves, with all that was glorious and dear to them, for what they deemed right and true, never came before that man of sense and of the world, with any feelings except those of majestic scorn, by whatever formal courtesies those feelings might be veiled. There were, indeed, those among his countrymen who were better qualified for reflection—his assessors on the judgment-seat, or some other of the accomplished officials required there by the Roman needs—contemplating the Jewish provinces from Cæsarea, saw them in an aspect which here it may be useful to imagine as it would present itself from that post of observation.[17] There, such an one might have said—there on that hilly country to which those passes, leading upwards, will conduct you, are communities of the most morose, and gloomy, and bigoted, and, at the same time, most firm and energetic people in the world. Two days' journey in that direction, on a road continually ascending, will bring you to their chief city, which is nearly a thousand years more ancient than our own, and which is now crowded by one

been chosen for the Apostle's discourse to him who *per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium . . . exercuit.* Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9.

[17] There must have always been in the suite of the proconsul educated and reflecting men, to assist him in his administration of affairs, who knew the history and *relative* status of the people, as is supposed in the text. Such, for example, were the *consiliarii*, or assessors, in the *conventus* held by Felix, by whom, as masters of the Roman law, he was guided in his decisions.

of the most restless populations in all our provinces. It is only kept in awe and saved from extermination through its mutual strifes, by the vigilance and prowess of our troops. Go along this shore, as far as that broad headland there projecting itself seaward in the north, and then turn in a north-east direction across the broad plain of which it is the boundary; and you will soon find yourself, as you approach that gay Syrian colony which bears the same name as this city, among countless towns and villages, all of them being populous, and many of them richly built, which are occupied chiefly by the same race. Thence they often go southwards, in reverent pilgrimage, to that hill city which I just described; and once in the spring-time they go thither in large crowds. Caravans from the most distant regions join them; and, as they approach Jerusalem, you will see numerous companies coming up from the south, many of them from Egypt, across the desert, as you will perceive by their travel-worn appearance, and by their long train of beasts of burden. This harbour, and those northwards, are often crowded with shipping bringing similar pilgrims from the west. They are so numerous, and so does the wild tumultuousness of their nation manifest itself, that, for the security of our own position and for themselves also, our procurator must go up with additional troops, and force himself into residence for a few weeks in that ungenial neighbourhood, amongst that austere community. Then, almost certainly, outbreaks occur. Some sign of their impatience under the galling pressure of our yoke, or brawls and ruptures between them and our soldiery, or, still more probably, some strife between themselves, require our attention.

And the iron rod must then be wielded by a strong, unshrinking arm, ere they are quelled. Meanwhile, through the whole year, there are occasions enough for all our care, and the valour of our troops is often severely tried. Revolts are frequently occurring; armed bands of fanatics, gathering crowds about them on the strangest, wildest pretexts, continually threaten us. In the northern province, amidst the rocky heights that overhang a low, deep valley, there are spacious caves, whence companies of the most desperate banditti issue, so as to make ordinary travelling, except in large escorted parties, an enterprise of peril. And, worst of all, within the last few years, there has been another dangerous manifestation of the fierce spirit of the people in the murderous work of disguised assassins, that make crowded assemblies as dangerous by their secret stab as the high roads are, in consequence of the brigand troops I have just mentioned. Though the province is one of the smallest in the empire, and inconsiderable in its own resources (for here, on these broad plains, you behold a large part of its wealth; treble this produce, and you have nearly the whole it yields)—it is one of the most burdensome of our dependencies. To its own resources, I should add those it derives from the pilgrims I spoke of, and from the communities of the race kindred with it throughout the world; yet, with all its produce, it is rather a burden than an advantage to the empire. Still, it may not be relinquished. Should this people ever attain independence, and they have energy enough, if they were only united, for this end, and if then they should set up their kingdom under that mysterious ruler in whose name so many of these fanatical companies have been convened—

the consequences would be, perhaps, fatally significant. Once, at an era long before the foundation of our city, they ruled over an empire that included most of our Syrian territory. They probably expect to recover that dominion, and, if united, they might succeed, for the race is powerful, and numerous everywhere. The cities of Egypt are filled with them; they form more than one-third of Antioch, and you know how numerous they are in Rome.

So, one acquainted with the history of Palestine might have spoken, during the years of Felix's administration, to another who had newly arrived from the Roman capital at the chief port of this colonial dependency. The outline view, taken from this side of the province, presents, at all events, an approximation to the aspect in which Felix, with his hard, severe, low-minded habits, looked on the sphere of his duty and commission. In the view of Festus, his successor, it seems probable that higher, and more enlightened considerations entered.[18] At all events, his efforts were more effectively directed to secure the tranquillity of his subjects. The troops were now employed as military police, to rid the country of the predatory bands that had ravaged and wasted it, until no property was secure, and travelling was almost impossible.[19] But

[18] This is intimated by the few notices of him which we find in Acts (ch. xxv.), *e. g.* his refusal, notwithstanding his willingness, "to do the Jews a pleasure" (ver. 9), to accede to their request that he would send the Apostle to Jerusalem, which, he well knew, would endanger St. Paul's safety; and again, the fact that he referred (*ἀνέθετο*) the Apostle's case to Agrippa, who appears, at this time, to have had some kind of ecclesiastical control in Jewish affairs (Joseph. *Antiq.* xxi.), and who was, therefore, the proper person to entertain it.

[19] The *λῃσταὶ καὶ σικάριοι*, of whom Josephus speaks so often, appear to have included sincere fanatics, as well as mere plunderers and assassins.

Festus died after a brief tenure of his office, and then the brigand hordes, regaining courage, again issued forth on their expeditions of plunder and spoliation. They appeared in larger numbers, and were organized so that their chief secured the collusion of the successor of Festus, who agreed to screen them, on condition of sharing in their booty. The country was now, therefore, more than ever at the mercy of these ruffian bands, whom the often described framework of the country helped and favoured. Only the walled towns were safe from their depredations. All unguarded property was insecure; and pilgrimages to the Holy City, being hindered by these perils, the flow of contributions to the sacred treasury was thinned and almost stayed, while yet the exactions of the Roman officials were as severe and exorbitant as ever.[20]

The people had thus been forced many steps further down on the descent of ruin, and the few thoughtful men among them "who had understanding of the times," and could look calmly into the future, must now, during the procuratorship of Albinus, have given up all hope of better days. Their prospects were indeed gloomier than they had ever been. Yet, as, in darkest periods, some ground of confidence may always be discerned for the support of faithful hearts; it was so with these, the most depressed

There are some excellent remarks on them in Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. pp. cxxxiii., iv. For those to whom spoil was the chief object, there were great temptations in the wealth of the pilgrims coming up from Ptolemais or Cæsarea, or from the east, to Jerusalem, and in the rich caravans, that carried forward the commerce of the east with Europe and Africa, whose course would lead them through Galilee and across the Great Plain.

[20] And not only were the contributions to the temple treasury reduced by these causes, but the Holy City was left more exclusively in the hands of the extreme party, who soon, in fact, entirely ruled it—to its ruin.

of Abraham's posterity. For at this very time the temple was at length finished; after all the acts of devastating violence that had obtructed the progress of the work, it was at length completed.[21] Their third temple, and the most glorious of the three, now stood in its perfection upon Moriah, and they believed, and were comforted in the belief, that it was a pledge that a destiny of corresponding glory was yet in store for them. Was not the completed structure one sign of the near approach of Him, the Promised One, of whom it was meant to be the seat and throne, whence He should send out His mandates even to the uttermost nations of the earth?

Many in the assemblies of Christ's followers asked this question, and in this completion of the temple, and in the hopes suggested by it, we have an explanation of the tenacity with which some of the new converts adhered to the now lifeless forms of their ancestral faith.[22] It

[21] With more than even his usual exaggeration, Josephus relates (*Antiq.* xx. 9) that 18,000 workmen had been employed on the temple up to this time, and that great inconvenience and distress were occasioned when their employment ceased. This might well have been the case, since the above number was that of nearly half the population of the city (note, p. 263). There is no doubt, however, that the works had been going forward since the commencement of them by Herod, fresh repairs being continually necessary in consequence of injuries, caused by the frequent commotions in the city, as Josephus relates (*Antiq.* xvii. 10). This fact, that the building of the structure was still in progress, should be borne in mind in picturing the condition of the city, and its aspect, during our Lord's ministry.

[22] In addition to what has before been remarked (see note, p. 302) concerning these Judaizing Christians, we may conjecture that many of them felt as the Evangelists describe the Apostles to have felt originally, respecting the secular character of Messiah's kingdom. Compare Neander's *Church History*, sec. iv. The completion of the temple must have had a tendency to strengthen these false impressions. And may not the fact that now there was an occasion for the compacting of the mass of connected error have suggested *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, of which the date is fixed by the best authorities in this very year (63), when the temple was completed?

explains the Judaism of many of the Christian Jews, as it also accounts for the strong, almost superhuman energy which the people manifested during the years of disaster that were now at hand. For it was through the ten years which immediately followed the completion of the structure under Albinus, that Palestine, and, above all, Jerusalem, witnessed prodigies of valour and of endurance that remain unmatched; and both the occasions of their display, and their supports, may be very probably referred to the completion of that proud structure which now signalized the Judean city amongst the nations, and plainly indicated the vast resources that were at its command.[23]

The knowledge of these resources quickened the avaricious desires of him, who is marked in the bad succession as the worst of those procurators under whose rule they suffered. Gessius Florus, to whom the evil pre-eminence is, on good grounds, assigned, came to the station at Cæsarea, which had been obtained for him by sinister influence, imbued with the worst vices of the imperial city, derisively sceptical in all modes of feeling and conviction, and intent only on amassing means of future indulgence, that should indemnify him for his compelled exile amidst this ungenial people. His exactions, under all pretexts, were

[23] The insurrection which resulted in the final revolt and overthrow of the nation, began at this time. No doubt the cruelty of Gessius Florus was the main occasion of it, and yet this completion of the temple must have encouraged them in a course, on which they would hardly otherwise have ventured,—on account (1) of the vast disposable force now disengaged (note, p. 314); (2) of the fitness of the sacred structure to serve as a fortified position, for it was not less a citadel than a temple; and (3) of the new awakening of their hopes of Messiah's advent. Now it was ready for his advent, and would He not come as had been promised (Mal. iii. 1)?

increased.[24] The treasury that belonged to such a structure must be ample, and was it not being continually replenished by the crowds which now came up to look on its completed grandeur?[25] More unscrupulous, therefore, than his predecessors', were his exactions, and as is evident from his treatment of the Cæsarean Jews, as well as from his derisive levity in the temple at Jerusalem, he was more scornful, even than they, of the strong convictions of the people, and this at the time when those convictions had been afresh corroborated and revived. They were now, accordingly, more than ever impatient and inflamed, and only needed a leader and a pretext for the final outbreak. Of these, the latter was soon furnished, in the treatment of the nation at Cæsarea. The preceding government had always aimed at, and had in great part succeeded in, holding harmoniously together, the discordant elements of that Greek and Jewish population, where, more than anywhere, the Jew felt the pressure of the foreign yoke.[26] Florus

[24] Tacitus' brief notice of this man—"*Duravit tamen patientia Judæis usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem: sub eo bellum ortum*" (*Hist.* v. 10)—accurately agrees with Josephus' notices respecting him (*Antiq.* xviii. 1, xx. 3; *B. J.* ii. 14). His utter shameless cruelty and avarice forced many of the moderate party among the Jews to join the fanatics. Had one more conciliating, such an one as Festus, been then in office, there might have been a delay of that catastrophe which, however, at this time, seemed necessary to the progress of the Church, p. 343 and note *ib.*

[25] These pilgrims would be the more numerous in the year of the temple's completion, as for two years previously the roads had been unusually obstructed on account of the collusion of Albinus with the brigands that infested them.

[26] The city was divided between the Greeks and Jews, the former in connection with the shipping, the others with the commerce of the city. As might have been expected from their strongly contrasted temperaments, the rivalries between the two races were incessant. In fact, "there was a standing quarrel between them, as to whether it was a Greek or a Jewish city. The Jews appealed to the fact that it was built by a Jewish prince.

abandoned that policy, and the insulted and outraged Jews, carried up, and in their wrongs and grievances applied, the torch for which the combustible masses in Jerusalem were prepared and waiting. Then that conflagration broke out, which was not extinguished until torrents of blood had been shed through some of the most disastrous years of which history makes mention; then rose up those dire apparitions, in forms ghastly and horrific, that were not laid until the iron sceptre, wielded by an arm of bronze, and directed by an inexorable will, had smitten the people and shattered them into ruins, such as the earth had hardly ever before borne upon its surface.

The commotions heaved up the whole country, in strong and frenzied spasms. But, of course, its focus was in Jerusalem; and the entire population, hemmed within those walls, were under the absolute control of virulent passions, which had been inflamed by long suffering and disappointment, and which now kept up the heat into which they had been kindled, by the absorbed contemplation of the one theme of the nation's story, and of its hopes.[27] There were

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The Greeks pointed to the 'temples and statues."—Conyb. and Hows. *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 289. The Romans mediated between the two parties, and controlled them, as the English in India stand in relation to the Mohammedans and Hindoos. And generally the procurator had inclined to the Jewish party as the more powerful, and as that which his personal interests would most incline him to conciliate. Florus took another course (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 14), and this was the real beginning of the war.

[27] This was the case already. For, at all times, the Jerusalem population represented the most zealous party amongst the Jews. Indeed, ever since the dispersion, there was nothing to attract an Israelite to the Holy City, except earnestness of national feeling and devotion. Those who were so brought there, and those who profited by *their* zeal (note, p. 280), were the chief inhabitants of Jerusalem, and they, consequently, represented the highest temperature to which the national mind was heated. Soon after this time this was not the case. The fanatics in possession of the city

only few among them who could look beyond that narrow horizon, within whose limits their gaze was riveted, careless and unconscious of all beyond, for was it not there that the Messiah would soon appear? nay, were not the extremities to which they were now reduced the heralds of His advance—the signs that, even now, He was drawing near on His pathway of triumph through the heavens? They could not reason on this fond hope, or look beyond it. And those who sought to break the spell, and deaden the fascination, and carry out their thoughts, their expectations, to the facts outlying their horizon, were driven away as the plunderers of hopes to which all their history, and every sacred institution around them, was a witness. Even the strong expostulations of Agrippa, when, while Rome was yet vividly in his remembrance, he pictured to them the littleness of their city, the petty feebleness of their province in the great empire against which they were erecting themselves—even this measure of their state on the scale of the imperial world, so humbling in its truthfulness, was insufficient to restrain them.[28] Those who could

would have been disowned by the most zealous of the right-minded members of the Hebrew communities. But, at the present time, the state of feeling in Jerusalem was such that they could sympathize with it.

[28] That is if we accept the long, elaborate harangue which Josephus gives (*B. J.* ii. 16) as having really been uttered by Agrippa on the occasion. If not the very words of Agrippa, however, we may, accept them, as we accept the speeches given by Thucydides and Livy, in the character of approximate reports of what was actually spoken. As has been said respecting them, "Josephus, no doubt, adhered to dramatic truth in composing these orations, and would assign to the speakers language proper to their characters. Although graced with not a few Grecian terms, the matter of these compositions is unquestionably national. It is probable, indeed, that broken portions of an actual address on some signal occasion were reported, and had come to the knowledge of the historian."—Taylor's *Fanaticism*, pp. 281–2.

so resist the general infatuation as to look beyond those narrow limits on the Roman world, were fewer and feebler than those whom that infatuation mastered. They, in spell-bound ardour, in the very insanity of zeal, held sway in the city, controlled its forces, and were the unresisted agents of its fate.

Their power was for a while irresistible, as such power always is, and it was as unscrupulously as it was energetically exercised. And now the "days of affliction" were evidently at hand, in which those "who were in Judea" were instructed to "flee into the mountains" of refuge on the other side of the river. Now, accordingly, all the Christians left the city, and now also treacherous death was dealt out to the Roman soldiers who were in it.[29] So that, once again, for a brief season, the Jew walked about Zion with no foreign domineering lord in view, and with no apostates, as he deemed them, near, who would gainsay his hopes. During that season the successes of the people were such as gave plausibility to the expectations of the most fanatical. For when, on hearing of the treacherous outrage on the guards whom they had slain after promises of mercy, the President of Syria himself came up, he was twice defeated by them, and their second victory was followed by his flight down the same Beth-horon Pass which was the scene of Joshua's great victory, when

[29] For an account of the flight of the Christians from the city, see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 5. The *χρησμὸς δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δόθεις πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου*, of which he speaks, was surely none other than our Lord's prediction given by St. Matthew (xxiv. 15, 16). Epiphanius (*De Pond. et Mens.*) says the warning was given by an angel. For an interesting account of the discovery of Pella near Wâdy Yabis, to which Eusebius says the Christians fled, see Robins. *Bib. Res.* iii. 320–4.

Jehovah fought for Israel. Their historian tells us of the vast war resources which they collected after this dispersion of their enemies, of their booty, and of their songs of triumph. But, more valuable to them than all this spoil, and giving them reason for loftier exultation, was the animating remembrance that they were victors again on the very scene of the restoration of their country's fortunes. There "the Lord had fought for Joshua," and there, too, for Judas Maccabeus. Was not, then, their victory there, on the same ground, a sign that His arm was again made bare in their defence? Surely a conquest in Beth-horon was a token that the crisis of their fortunes had been passed; that the honour of the nation was permanently retrieved; and that now, at length, they had entered on the long-expected era of conquest, and of universal rule.[30]

One may imagine how their courage was animated, and how the expectations of the most ardent approved themselves as reasonable on the occurrence of this victory. And now, in fact, that course which had been heretofore taken only by the fanatical, was deliberately adopted by the men in office and authority. The enthusiastic party ruled: the fears and cautions of the more reflecting natures were overborne; and they now proceeded, with a show of calm deliberation, to prepare for resistance, or, as they would have said, to enter on the preliminary stages of universal conquest. How strong their convictions were, is shown by the measures which they now adopted; for though some in every part of the country sympathized

[30] Comp. with Joseph. (*B. J.* ii. 19), Joshua x., and 1 Macc. iii. See note, p. 240.

with them, yet there were only few cities in which they had absolute ascendancy, and where the condition of affairs in the metropolis was faithfully reflected. In fact, with the exception of an inconsiderable district of Lower Galilee, and of a few small towns on the south coast, the insurgents were confined to Southern Palestine, to the country around Jerusalem, and Idumea. The rest of the land was either wholly alienated from them, as in the case of Samaria, or it was so under the Roman influence and authority, as in the territory of Agrippa, that those living there who had any sympathy with their purposes, were a small minority, and unable to render them assistance.[31]

[31] In no respect are we more liable to be misled by the exaggerations of Josephus than in our conclusions as to the extent of the theatre of the Jewish war. He meant to convey the impression, which most historians have received, that it was carried on over the whole of Galilee, as well as through Perœa and Idumea. See, for example, Jahn's *Hebrew Commonw.* xv. 138–142. Whereas the truth is, that very few, and those only inconsiderable towns, where the majority of the population were attached to the fanatical Jewish party, were implicated in it. This is what might have been expected when we consider how long and how intimately the country had been pervaded by Western, and especially by Roman influences. Besides the towns in the immediate vicinity of the centre of the brigand companies (such as Tiberias, Tarichœa, Gamala, and Gadara), there were only Gischala and Jotapata in Galilee, where the insurgents were established: and how far the Jewish historian may be trusted, in the matters of size and population, as respects them, may be seen in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* vol. iii. pp. 104–107, where he gives an account of his identification of Jefât with the Jotapata of the historian, and shows how "exaggerated and hyperbolical, doubtless," is his account. "Indeed, the thought stole over my mind, *as* we stood upon the spot, whether the historian had not here given himself up to romance, in order to laud the valour of the Romans, of the Jews, and especially of himself (p. 107)." As regards Perœa, the only places he names in it (*B. J.* iv. 7) must have been inconsiderable villages within a few miles of the south of the Lake of Tiberias. Indeed, there is reason to believe (note, p. 303) that the whole of this country—excepting Machærus, which was held by the insurgents—was now under the rule of Aretas, the "King of Arabia," as he is called. In the south of Palestine, Herodium and Masada were the only fortresses in their possession; and it is clear, from the account

Now, however, with these few communities, which shared their discontent, the ruling party in Jerusalem placed itself in an organized alliance; and in them, and in the population of the Holy City, we see the entire force which rose up against the Roman power in the blind assertion of those prerogatives, the real nature of which was misunderstood by them, and of which they had been deprived. Angry vindictiveness for the outrages they had suffered, and desperate persistence in long disappointed hopes, made up an insanity of strife and effort which was ruled so as to subserve the progress and the expansion of the Church. For such a convulsion as that which we are now approaching, and nothing less, was needful to break up the long cherished feeling that the Divine Kingdom on earth must have a local centre unto which all the members of it, wherever scattered, might look up; and now, therefore, with the deepest interest, on account of this important bearing on the condition of the enlarging Church, may we watch, in their last struggles, the hopeless resistance of the people.[32]

For it was evidently hopeless. The season for Divine

(*B. J.* iv. 9) of Simon's war upon the "Idumeans," as the inhabitants of South Palestine were now called, that the majority of them had no share in the revolt, and were well affected in their submission to the Roman Government.

[32] We shall estimate the importance of this relation of the Jewish revolt to the progress of the Church, if we imagine that it had not taken place, and that Jerusalem had continued to stand in its now completed grandeur. In that case the Judaizing Christians, being looked up to from all the Christian communities, wherever they were established, would have acquired irresistible influence. And Jerusalem, as the object of those idolatrous tendencies in men which lead them to seek an earthly head and centre of the Church, would have become, in the first century, what Rome became in the eleventh.

intervention on their behalf had passed, and nothing less than this, as even the most ardent acknowledged, could save them from the terrible vengeance of the mighty power they had defied. The sceptre under which, as Agrippa reminded them, the nations of Europe, even as far as the British isles, had bowed, only needed time to gather up its legions that it might quell and quench for ever their rebellion.[33] Soon, accordingly, surely and inexorably drawing near, those legions, under one of the most potent chiefs, approached their shores. One who might descry the advancing fleet from the heights of Galilee, saw how irresistible was the wave of vengeance that was rolling slowly upon the land, and yet there was no sign in earth or heaven of their Messiah King! He still kept silence! From the pavilion of His Majesty He still looked on unmoved. And yet how powerless were they without His aid! Against those hosts, now strong and flushed with the conquest of the world, and inflamed with angry purposes of vengeance at the mad defiance of the people, how defenceless were their strongest fortresses.[34] They

[33] "The entire Euphrates has not sufficed them (the Romans) on the east, nor the Danube on the north; nor on the south, Libya, penetrated even to uninhabited climes, nor Gadeira on the west. But, beyond the ocean, they have sought another world, and have carried their arms far as the Britons, unknown before to history. . . . Reflect also on the ramparts of the Britons, you who confide in the walls of Jerusalem. For even these, girded by the ocean, and occupying an island not less than the country we inhabit, the Romans sailed to and subdued. And, extensive as is that island, four legions keep it."—*B. J.* ii. 16.

[34] So hopeless was their struggle that nothing but an expectation of supernatural help can explain their entering on it. This was the way in which Tacitus accounted for what he evidently regarded as a prodigy, though he names the reason in connexion with the siege of Jerusalem itself in the often-cited passage (*Hist.* v. 13):—"Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret

were beating themselves against a rock in their desperate resistance to the Roman, who, calmly, and with patient valour, prepared to wait, that his conquest might be made with as small an expenditure of life as possible. And still they persisted, until death, or the iron arm of the conqueror, as relentless and invincible as death, silenced and overbore them. For the Romans everywhere won their accustomed triumphs of energy and discipline. All the insurgent towns in the northern province were reduced, and though the influence of the fanatical party still disturbed some parts of Idumea, every one of the cities returned to its allegiance, except Jerusalem.[35] This alone, with the three fortresses, Herodium, Masada, and Machærus remained untaken; and, as Vespasian knew, they only held out because they were under the control of mad fanatics who were as furiously divided against each other, as they were stubbornly determined in their resistance against Rome.[36]

Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur. . . . . Vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis, sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur."

[35] The insurgent towns of Galilee were reduced by the leisurely efforts of a few months in the early part of the year 67. Before June, Gadara and Jotapata were taken. Vespasian then went to Cæsarea, and partly by a storm, and partly by the Roman arms, Joppa was subdued. Tiberias, Tarichæa, and Gamala were restored to Agrippa's rule in September; and then, last of all, followed the reduction of Gischala in the following month by Titus. Idumea and the neighbourhood of Gadara appear to have been still disturbed by the insurgents, but making his head-quarters in Cæsarea, Vespasian, in a few expeditions in the years 68 and 69, completely reduced them.

[36] There were, however, many connected with the insurgent faction, whose share in the revolt must be regarded with sympathy and respect. In fact, there are three distinct parties evidently traceable in Josephus' narrative, and which, indeed, were such as we might look for, in the circumstances of the country, at this time. There were (1) the sincere and earnest-minded patriots, who felt themselves bound to take the course of resistance, in order

Such, indeed, was the fury of their intestine strife that the policy which made him frugal of the life and force at his command, suggested that he should now pause for awhile, and not advance to the sure completion of the conquest, until time had wrought its certain, although gradual, work in the enfeebling, if not absolute extermination, of those frenzied men who were the sole cause of their continued persistence in rebellion. When these fanatics were exhausted, Jerusalem, and the three fortresses would be easily recovered. So reflecting, he waited without impatience at Cæsarea, while, as he said, they were doing his work on one another; and it was while he was so waiting that he was summoned to the imperial throne.[37] On the shores of Palestine the iron sceptre was put into his hand, and the delay, and the consequent removal of the expedition to Alexandria, further postponed

to save their most sacred interests from threatened destruction. Of the three leaders, in the city, during the siege, this party seems to have rallied around Simon. Then (2) there were the Ζηλωταὶ, whom Josephus so often speaks of, and "who have not unaptly been compared with the Montagnards of the French Revolution, driven by their own indomitable passions, to assert the truths which possessed them, with a ferocity which no position can justify (Merivale's *History of Rome*, vol. vi. p. 570). Eleazar appears to have been the leader of this class. And (3), there were the mere bandits, the "λῃσται καὶ ασεβεῖς" of the historian, who, under John of Gischala, if Josephus may be trusted in his report of his chief enemy, were mainly intent on plunder and outrage. After the siege had begun, these last joined with the Zealots whose leader they slew, and then the contest lay between them and the first party, which appears to have justly, as well as strongly, opposed them, on account of their outrageous violence.

[37] Early in the year 68, Vespasian, who was then at Cæsarea, was strongly urged by his generals to march against Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 6); but he replied, that "while their adversaries were perishing by mutual strife, and were labouring under that greatest of evils, sedition, they should rather remain quiet spectators of their (adversaries') peril than combat with men who courted death, and were infuriated against each other." So he waited until the close of the year 69, when he received the imperial crown.

the great crisis at Jerusalem, and gave the fanatical party there a new pretext for resistance. "Could it be," they might well urge, "could it be without significance that, just now, events had compelled the withdrawal of the Roman arms?" The pause, the postponement of peril, supplied new fuel to their ardour, and they maintained their position with reanimated hope, which was still high and strong when they heard of the approaching armament of Titus coming up across the desert from Egypt, along the coast to Cæsarea. Nor did their courage sink, even when the dense and serried hosts were descried from the high tower of Psephinos, in the terrible array of power and vindictive wrath, descending from the north, on the old pathway of their foes.[38]

On they came, and soon the whole surface of the undulating plain north and west of the city, was covered with their vast encampment. There, in fact, were "the armies" that had been foreseen. And now they were "encompassing the city," for, on the flanks of the very eminence whence the prophecy had been delivered, on the southern road leading over Olivet, the banners and lances of another legion are seen advancing.[39] It stationed itself on the hill slope upon the east; and now the expectation which had been hitherto vaguely held, shaped itself, and stood and glared,

[38] Titus came up from Cæsarea, and so approached the city, by the direct northern road past Tel-el-Fûl. Besides his two legions, he had with him a corps of Bedouins, who, "solito inter accolas odio, infensa Judæis," willingly joined his service (Tacit. *Hist.* v. 1). Another legion came up by the western road from Emmaus (Latrôu), on the regular highway from Joppa.

[39] This was the tenth legion, which was ordered to march up from Jericho, and to station itself on the western slope of the Mount of Olives, to intercept any succour, which might come to the besieged from the east, and which, Dion Cassius (lxvi. 4) says, they actually received, not only from their compatriots in other parts of the Roman empire, [b] also from those beyond the Euphrates.

confronting them in its terrible reality. In a few days that living mighty host must lie, crushed, and lifeless, on that hill slope, in those ravines, upon that plain, as the trophy of the coming Messiah's power; or they, and with them, the cause of God, must be hopelessly destroyed. In their madness, they believed this was in truth the issue to be determined. And in no other view, when the scene is distinctly and authentically realized, when we consider that small divided population on the one hand, and the irresistible might of the Roman forces on the other—can their resistance, with the prodigies of valour and endurance involved in it, be accounted for and understood. While, on the other hand, with this interpretation, and looking on the scene in connection with all the memories of the thousand years that had rolled so eventfully over that very spot, it becomes intelligible; and upon that, which would else be the hideous spectacle of men, in disciplined order, advancing onwards to the destruction of mad or demon bands, we discern an aspect of melancholy grandeur, of gloomily sublime magnificence. We then see, on the one side, those who regarded themselves as holding their position in allegiance to God, Who, they hourly expected, would soon break His silence, and come forth for their relief; and on the other side, their enemies going forward in the calm and steadfast consciousness of their own invincibility, compassionating, and willing to spare the infuriated men, so nobly grand in their hopeless daring, whom yet they find themselves compelled by nothing less than the mandate of Heaven to destroy.[40]

[40] It is very affecting to read the language, if Josephus' report of it may be trusted, in which both Vespasian and Titus acknowledged that they were

In all the scenes of military strife which history presents, there is not one that reveals itself in clearer outline, in more authentic and vivid detail, than that of which the hills and ravines of Jerusalem now became the ground and platform, immediately after the arrival of the legions in the early spring of that eventful year. For, notwithstanding the faults that may be charged on it, so graphically has the story been told by the writer who seemed constituted and trained for this very work, so deeply and distinctly portrayed on his crowded page is the narrative in which, day by day, he reflects, burns in, the lines and colours of the daily horrors of the siege and the assault, and so marked and familiar are the localities where it was carried forward—that we may take our place, on one side and on the other, and witness the struggle in all its stages of agony, and tumult, and despair.[41] Through the streets of the

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only the instruments of God in the work which they accomplished. In Vespasian's reply to those who urged him to march at once upon Jerusalem, he said that "Divine Providence was their ally," and that "God was delivering up the Jews to the Romans without any exertion on their part." As again, after the city was taken, Titus exclaimed, "Surely we fought with God on our side."

[41] The *Jewish War* shows great descriptive power; and, after his colouring and exaggerations are allowed for, its details may be received. "Josèphe eût été peut-être un grand historien, s'il eût été un honnête homme," says one of the latest of his assailants (Philarète Chasles, *De l'Autorité Historique de F. J.*, Paris, 1841). "C'était la nécessité de Josèphe, de mentir. En inculpant ses compatriotes, il se disculpe." This, however, is not the whole reason of his fictions and misstatements. In large measure they originated in his desire to impress his Gentile readers with high ideas of the greatness of his people; and, ignorant of their true glory, he thought to effect his purpose by magnifying every outward circumstance connected with them. Hence, his numbers and dimensions are so overstrained as to prove absolutely ridiculous wherever we have the means of checking them (notes, pp. 263, 321). In numerous instances, besides, he contradicts himself, as in a case already cited, and in other

upper town, amidst trembling, sorrowing groups, taking leave of the armed son or brother going forth to death, or bewailing the corpse which had been just returned to them, ruffian bands, on all sides, being intent on violence and spoliation,—through this, which was yet the most tranquil part of the city, we may make our way to the upper stories of one of the three huge solid towers that rose above the wall on that western side. Thence, far as the eye can reach, even to the flanks of Gibeon, is the Roman camp extended. In the distance we may descry, coming up from seaward, the long provision trains laden with an abundance that mocked the lean and haggard groups whom we have just left in the streets below, and awoke the curses of the armed men among whom we should be standing.[42] Or, on the other side, hastening away from these scenes of sorrowful depression, and going across the bridge that spans the hollow, which was then choked with hideous tokens of the suicidal ruin and devastation, we might reach the temple courts and the spacious colonnades. There, the shout, the trumpets, the clang and thunder of the engines, betoken the focus of the

matters which appear on a comparison of his *Life* with the *War*. Nor may we forget the rationalizing process which, in his *Antiquities*, he applies to the Sacred Records. His *Jewish War*, with the above caution, is the most trustworthy, as, in the absence of other sources of information relating to the same occurrence, it is the most useful of his works.

[42] The *War* has frequent allusions to the famine suffered by the besieged, but says nothing of their sufferings from thirst. The water supply within the city was, in fact, abundant.—Traill's *Josephus*, vol. i. lviii. ix.; and Barclay's *City of the Great King*, c. x. The besiegers were probably supplied by means of Pilate's aqueducts, from the springs at Wady Urtas (note, p. 290). But the provisioning of the camp, since all the supplies must have been brought from a greater distance, would be a work of considerable difficulty, and the agents employed in bringing up the provisions must have daily covered the whole ground visible from the highest of the towers on the west of the city.

energy that maintains the struggle. But, passing through it, and making our way, amongst those fierce and glaring forms, to one of the upper ramparts of Antonia, we look down on the open ground immediately beneath. There are the covered engines, with their huge missiles, ever and anon, darkening the air; and there, too, is the approaching compacted band of the assailants, their shields and helmets, in broad and splendid surface, protecting them as they advance in mighty and invincible, because in disciplined, energy, calmly steadfast even in the very desperation of their valour. Beyond, on the gently rising ground, now bared of all the forest wood that again had thickly covered it, there are long ranges of tents and pavilions, stretching far and wide, as though a new city of warriors had suddenly uprisen on the slopes and ridges of the northern hills.[43] Again, turning towards the east, in the clefts of Olivet, at its roots, and on its long sides sloping downward to the Kedron, the armed companies extend themselves. There is the same panoply of war, there are the same firmly compacted bands, breathing and shouting valour, now pressing forward in the assaults on the north, now driving back up the slopes opposite their quarters, the daring men who so often, and with such dire effect, sallied forth on that side of the city. And on all that vast mag-

[43] Compare with the notices collected by Stanley (*Syria and Palestine*, p. 184) of the trees and vegetation around the city, the pathetic, although, as usual, exaggerated language of the historian: "Melancholy indeed was the aspect of the country; places, formerly ornamented with trees and pleasure-grounds, now lying utterly deserted, with all the timber felled. Nor could a stranger, who had seen Judæa as she once was, and the enchanting suburbs of her capital, and beheld her present desolation, have refrained from tears, or suppressed a sigh at the greatness of the change." *B. J.* vi. 1.

nificent array—so we should have been assured, as we made our way to gaze on it from one side of the city to the other—the Messiah was about to lay the hand of His Omnipotence to break and to crush it. Any hour, nay, even this very hour, or the next, He might be expected to appear. He had appointed His advent at this very crisis, and was it not worth even all this strife and suffering to hold His chosen seat, His future throne, until He came? [44]

Their expected victims, on the other hand, were not unaware of the feelings with which they were regarded. They had those among them—one especially they had—who could fully explain to them the secret force of this desperate resistance, which otherwise was so unaccountable, and to which of late the Roman arms had been so unused.[45] Standing on the summit of the eastern mount,

[44] And with such expectations the prophetic imagery employed in Ps. ii., and in Isaiah ix. and lxiii., would apparently accord. The angry ruler, with an iron sceptre in his hand, and clothed in blood-stained robes, whom they read of in those and kindred passages, was present to their imaginations, but alas! with no insight into the true nature of His conquests, with no vision of the armies of heaven clothed in the pure white, which is "the righteousness of saints," who followed Him. Rev. xix. 11–16. There *was* such an One before them, but few, if any of them, did He recognize as fighting under His banners.

[45] Josephus was brought into the camp by Titus, and was twice employed by him to exhort the Jews to surrender (*B. J.* v. 9, and vi. 2). From what the historian says in his narrative (*B. J.* vi. 5), we may conjecture the manner in which he would represent the hopes by which his countrymen were inspired in their resistance. "What chiefly incited them in 'the war' was an ambiguous oracle (*χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος*) found in their sacred writings that, 'about this period some one from their country should obtain the empire of the world.' This they received as applying to themselves, and many eminent for wisdom were deceived in the interpretation of it. The oracle, however, in reality indicated the elevation of Vespasian, he having been proclaimed emperor in Judea." And so, no doubt, he spoke—most dishonestly, as well as unworthily—to all who asked him to explain the pertinacity of his countrymen's resistance.

they could, therefore, understand why, amidst all the famine and hideous tumult, the smoke of the daily sacrifice yet rose up in front of them, darkening the snow-white sanctuary; and they must, in consequence, have looked on the reckless, infuriated men who scowled and yelled defiance from the walls, and who raged against them with such frantic desperation, as men possessed, against whom it were vain to contend in personal encounter. It was on this account that, at length, Titus "dug the trench," which again "encompassed the city on every side," making an exit from its beleaguered walls impracticable.[46] This hastened the inevitable catastrophe. The wretched people, hemmed in by this enclosure, were now obliged by the summer heat to throw the corpses of their slain companions down into the steep ravine adjacent to the sepulchres, unto which they had no longer access upon the south. Nor could any reinforcements now enter the city to supply the places of those thus taken from them. There was a slow and sure diminution of their forces daily by the Roman missiles; and another not less rapid by famine and intestine strife, for hunger and mutual rage were still allied on the Roman side, in the very midst of them. Meanwhile, the engines advanced nearer,

[46] One of the most unaccountable parts of Josephus' narrative, is the statement (*B. J.* iv. 10, 11, 12) that, until after the destruction of the second wall, the south and south-west sides of the city were left unguarded by the besiegers. The consequence was, that large numbers of the people escaped in these directions (*B. J.* v. 11). On this account Titus built round the city an enclosure (Isaiah xxix. 1–3) which, with his usual inaccuracy, Josephus says was nearly five miles long. (This it could not have been, since only the space included in the "first wall" needed to be invested.) He had previously (*B. J.* v. 6) raised a mound round the city, and it is probably to this our Lord referred, when He said "They shall cast a trench (χάρακά) about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side." Luke xix. 43.

and in emulous daring, the scaling ladders were ascended. Now the foot of the Roman was on the walls. Antonia rocked and shook, and at length fell, under a succession of ponderous shocks; and in less than three months from the day when the first stones were hurled into the rebellious city, the legions had gained a position within its huge and massive bulwarks.[47] Immediately the outer court of the temple was filled by them; they there thronged the colonnades, sheltering themselves from the fierce heats of the open, glaring sky; and the haunts of learned converse, of devout and lofty meditation, now resounded with the fierce and exultant shoutings of the conquerors, and with the heavy din and clatter of the engines, that were dragged into the enclosure for a shattering assault on the walls of the inner court, which even yet resisted them.

We reach, at length, in the souls of the environed group within that enclosure, the central crisis of all those horrors, as each shock of the ponderous engine smote on them like the last strokes of the hour of doom. True, they said, the daily sacrifice had been suspended. Yet still the inner sanctuary of Messiah, the "courts of His own people" were secure: they were not yet defiled by the tread of the invader! Was not this then the very hour of deliverance? They looked up, but the heavens, calm in their eternal stillness, opened not; they listened, in the intervals of the assault, for the rush of His chariot wheels, for the tramp of the angel legions He would send for their deliverance!

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[47] The siege began on the 13th of April. On the 6th of May, the Jews were driven within the second wall, and the besiegers got possession of the ground immediately north of the Antonia. On the 28th of June, the final attack was made on the Antonia, and on the 2nd of July it was taken.

Was it a false hope, then, after all? More awful than the heaped signs of devastation, ghastlier than the ghastly sorrow of the mourning groups that sat upon those ruins, darker than the smoke that blackened the heavens in the conflagration of the city, was the gloom and sorrow of those souls, now themselves darkened and in ruins, when they learned, in the last hour of their mortality, that He was not coming as they believed He had said. For many, indeed, the vision of that last hour dissolved, and changed instantly into a wider, deeper perception of the real nature of that kingdom whereof He had promised to make Jerusalem the centre! And how blessed were they for whom death thus changed the scene in the midst of that terrible destruction of all that was most dear and sacred; the consecrated altars and vessels, their Divine forms disappearing, melting back into common material; the veil blazing up; the Holiest of all disclosed, and then wrapt in smoke and flames; the foot of the Gentile on Messiah's throne; the gods of the heathen invoked with oaths and execrations in the very innermost shrine where He had placed His name!

How happy was the lot of those who were removed from all those horrors, in comparison with that of those who survived, and who still occupied the upper town.[48] Once more, on that same station, at the east end of the great

[48] From the beginning, this part of the city had been held by Simon, around whom the more moderate of the three parties among the besieged had gathered. The wall surrounding their quarter was the oldest and strongest. Here were the three towers which Titus left to stand "as a memorial of the favour of Fortune, by whose co-operation he had become master of those strongholds which could never have been reduced by force of arms."—*B. J.* vi. 9. Simon and his party might have thought their position impregnable; or, as seems more probable, they hoped to make better terms than Titus (*B. J.* vi. 6) offered them.

bridge where Agrippa had formerly harangued them, Titus himself advanced, and summoned them, as they crowded to listen to him on the other side of Zion, to surrender. From their station on that hill, they could see every circumstance of the destructive work which had just been wrought on the temple. They knew their hopes were frustrated, and it must have been sullen fear, or purposes of suicide rather than of resistance, which urged them to prolong the contest. Across the ravines, already heaped and glutted with the huge blocks which the engines had dislodged, it was now easy, with the masses that had been loosened by the fire, and which the policy of war made it incumbent on them to overthrow—to make a pathway broad and high enough for the operations which soon placed the upper city also in the hands of the conqueror.[49] Execution and slavery disposed of the wretched survivors. And now the whole extent of the dismantled city was added to the Roman camp. The imperial eagle rose above its hills and towers; the effigy of Vespasian was upreared. Over the whole scene which had so lately resounded with demon uproar, there was silence, that was only broken by the upheaving, and overthrow into the surrounding hollows, of all the solid masonry on which the strength, and skill, and the resources of two generations, had been consumed in

[49] Josephus does not speak of an attack being made on "the upper city," on this its eastern side, yet it appears almost certain that one was made there, since the machines could be worked on the mounds now easily raised in the Tyropœon, and since, also, the assault on the west was one of extreme difficulty. It took eighteen days to raise the mounds upon which the machines there could be brought to bear against the massive fortifications, of which traces still remain in the lower courses of the present citadel. Rob., *Bib. Res.* i. p. 308. Comp. Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. xciii., and the Plates of Hippicus, pp. 126, 215.

raising it into a structure that was meant to be as lasting as the world.[50]

They "laid it even with the ground, and left not one stone upon another." Once again Jerusalem became a heap of ruins.[51] And so, unconscious of what they did,

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[50] "On the testimony, even of profane writers, we must suppose Jerusalem to have been, in the times of the Herods, architecturally one of the most remarkable cities within the circuit of the Roman world: none was more solidly built, or more likely to stand the wear of time, or even to outlast the ordinary chances of war, of siege, and of conflagration. That it should be levelled piecemeal by the crowbar, and that this demolition should be effected, not by the reckless fury of a swarm of barbarians, but coolly and deliberately, by those who were masters of the world, and who especially prided themselves upon the magnificence of the cities and countries they had vanquished—this was no probable event, which could be calculated on as likely to occur; unless, indeed, a period were to be claimed for its arrival long enough to include the revolutions of many centuries. And yet it *did* take place within the limits of a human life—even before that generation had passed away. 'Weep not for me! weep for *yourselves*, and for your children,' said our Lord; for *some of yourselves*, and multitudes of your children, shall survive to that time of woe.'"—Traill's *Josephus*, vol. ii. clxxx.

[51] "That which the Jewish historian thus affirms . . . . is, in a very convincing manner, placed before our eyes, in the existing remains of the city and temple. Here are the materials, in themselves corresponding with the description he gives of the original structure; but, wherever we meet them at all coming to, or rising above, the level of the surrounding surface, they are not now found in the position in which they would, at the first, have been placed. Stones of enormous size are confusedly intermixed with fragments, and with stones of a middle size, and these often *wrongly placed* as to their faces and order. . . . . It had been sufficient if the vast masses of the ancient city and temple were now found choking the ravines and valleys around, in hideous confusion. But something more of historic evidence is furnished by these remains such as we find them. The materials have been gathered up, and have been replaced upon their original and undisturbed foundations, ... in the only manner which is practicable in *such a case*. . . . . The huge masses, loosened from their places, could not have been sorted, so that each stone might be replaced in its fitting position. . . . . What *might* be done in such a case is what appears to have actually been done. . . . . Whatever affected the stability of the structure was properly regarded, ... but as to any

the agents of that destroying work, in shattering the material structure, broke up errors and illusions, whose destruction was needful that the Church might have free course, and be glorified, in its expanding progress. More, however, than the levelling of Jerusalem was necessary for the completion of this work. For its ruins might have been restored by the fanatics who were yet surviving, intrenched in the three fortresses that still defied the imperial arms in the south of Palestine. Of these, Herodium, which was in sight of Jerusalem, and so near that the insurgents there could almost hear the final crash that announced the fall of the city—surrendered on the first summons. But the reduction of Machærus, and of Masada, was not to be so easily accomplished: this work was a worthy sequel of that which had so severely tried the Roman skill, and prowess, and endurance.

With little delay, however, the Jerusalem victors proceeded to that region of scorched desolation where these fortresses upreared themselves. First they were descried from the towers of Machærus, which was built on one of the most inaccessible of the craggy summits on the north-east of the Dead Sea.[52] In the furious sallies of the garrison

purposes of decoration, chance was mistress of the work."—Traill's *Joseph.*, vol. ii. clxxxv.-ix. For some account of the conserved portions of the ancient city, see Appendix, Note E.

[52] Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6) has given a minute account of the situation and neighbourhood of this citadel, and Seetzen satisfactorily identified it with the ruins which he found on a rock upon the edge of Zerka Mâ'in, one of the wadys which run down to the Dead Sea, on its eastern side. Ritter, *Erdk.* xv. 569, 577. It was within the territory of Aretas, the Arabian king, at this time, as it had been at the time of the war between that monarch and Herod, on account of his ill-treatment of the daughter of Aretas. This

down the broad slopes leading from this castle, the legions again encountered the same frantic impetuosity over which their patient valour had triumphed at Jerusalem. And they encountered it with the same success. Now Masada alone remained. But there other than human allies befriended them, or they could not have taken the citadel which rose in that horrid solitude, sheer up from an abyss that could only be crossed in one direction, and in that along a path so narrow, and steep, and so precipitous on either side, that no appliances of war could be advanced on it. There, however, the elements fought against the beleaguered band; and, in the sole alternative between suicide and capture, they chose the former, so that when the soldiers at length made their way into that most impregnable of all the fenced heights of Palestine, they found it heaped with the corpses of their self-immolated foes, while in the cavern storehouses of the citadel there were still abundant provisions left in proof that they had not yielded to an ignoble compulsion—that freedom, and not bodily necessity, had prompted their awful sacrifice.[53]

On the day when the imperial banner at length waved on that lonely height, the subjection of Palestine to the dominion of the iron sceptre was complete. The pro-

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fact, as Rev. G. Williams (Smith's *Geog. Dict.*, art. *Machærus*) justly remarks, "presents an insuperable difficulty to the statement of Josephus that it was the place of John Baptist's martyrdom; for suffering, as in one view he did, as a martyr for the conjugal rights of the daughter of Aretas, it is impossible to believe that Herod could have had power to order his execution in that fortress."

[53] For an account of Masada and its neighbourhood, see notes, pp. 6, 133. There is an admirable and graphic rendering of Josephus's narrative of the capture of the fortress in Taylor's *Fanaticism*, pp. 282–292.

curator at Cæsarea was enabled to report that the whole province was again submissive, and that the chiefs of the rebellion had been crushed. The brigands and fanatics were finally quelled, if not exterminated, and the still numerous Jewish communities of the country now comprised only the peaceful and submissive, if not contented, subjects of the empire.

We have no details of the history of Palestine during the half-century which followed this announcement, and only the most general notices concerning the condition of the country.[54] It is not difficult, however, when we duly consider these notices in connection with the ample details of the earlier period, to delineate the course of events transacted through this period. Terrible as the recent struggle had been, its scene and theatre was comparatively narrow, and it left unaffected large communities of Jews within the limits of Palestine, in Peræa, in Galilee, even in Idumæa, and on the coast.[55] They had not shared in the maddened zeal of the defenders of the city, and were not involved in their destruction. When the revolt was quelled and the chief part of the insurgents were exterminated, the country around Jerusalem began to assume gradually that Roman aspect which had long since covered the other portions of the country, and the city itself was simply a military

[54] Vespasian sent to Bassus, the general in command, an edict to sell to the highest bidders all the lands which had been confiscated by the rebellion. The profits of the sale were remitted to the Imperial treasury at Rome. This proceeding, however, would affect few estates except in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and, as above mentioned, the chief alteration in the condition of the country after the war, would be occasioned by the cessation of those pilgrimages, involving extensive movements to and fro, of which Jerusalem was the goal and centre.

[55] See notes, pp. 321, 324.

station.[56] The bare, repulsive features of its neighbourhood, and its distance from the great commercial routes, from the lines of intercourse between east and west, must here be again adverted to, as throwing considerable light upon its history during this period. In the occupation of the Roman garrison, its sacred and magnificent buildings in ruins which were connected with only terrible associations, Jerusalem would only be visited by those who were under the strong influence of devout, or of national remembrances, or who passed it in the unfrequent intercourse between Samaria and Idumæa.[57] There were no crowds ascending the passes which led up to the Holy City throughout these

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[56] Eusebius and Jerome (quoted by Robin., *Bib. Res.* i. 366) state that Titus left a considerable part of the city standing. It was not utterly destroyed until its final overthrow under Hadrian; yet the statement of Eusebius that τὸ ἡμίσυ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλέναι τῃ πολιορκίᾳ is doubtless far below the truth; and, in fact, it is explained by what follows: ὡς φησιν ἡ προφητεία: he is commenting on Zech. xiv. 2. See Bishop Münter's *Judischer Krieg unter Trajan und Hadrian*, which is translated in Rob. *Bib. Sacra*, 1843.

[57] They (the Samaritans and Idumeans) were distinct in origin, and language, and in religion. In fact, Idumea, like Galilee, was now completely Roman in its character. (See notes, pp. 22, 350.) Nor was there anything special in the circumstances of the two provinces to occasion regular intercourse between them. The middle road was, therefore, unfrequented; and, between Galilee and Idumea, the communication would be naturally carried along the more convenient route upon the coast, so that the highways leading up to and past Jerusalem would be now almost deserted. (Comp. note, p. 147.) There is a passage in Bourrienne's *Mémoires sur Napoléon*, vol. i. p. 318, which vividly illustrates the secluded position of Jerusalem: "Nous n'étions plus qu'à environ six lieues de Jerusalem (*i. e.* at Ramlah, in going along the coast to Acre); je demandai au général en chef s'il n'aurait pas le désir de passer par cette ville célèbre sous tant de rapports. . . . . 'Oh! pour cela non! Jérusalem n'est point dans ma ligne d'opération; je ne veux pas avoir affaire *à des montagnards dans des chemins difficiles*..' . . . . . Nous n'eûmes aucun rapport avec Jérusalem, qui, de son côté, resta étrangère à cette guerre."

years; and yet on all sides around it, near and far off, there were Jewish communities whose members still cherished hopes and feelings as strong as those which had been lately quelled, and who yet entertained the purpose which had then apparently been brought to nought.

In fact, the fanatical spirit, which had been so terribly manifested and resisted in the late war, still survived among the people. Nor was it less mighty, and less intolerant of any contradiction of its hopes, though it could only exercise itself at this time in verbal toil and disputation.[58] For the justification of its hopes it could appeal to history. Had not the ancient city been restored after its terrible overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar? Might not another Cyrus arise to favour the elected race? And did not prophecy sanction the hope of their restoration? True they had been smitten down by the iron power. But was not that power to be itself overthrown, and overwhelmed by the great stone that should cover the earth? Again, Daniel ministered to the hopes of the fanatical.[59] And along with

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[58] In the great Rabbinical communities at Jamnia and Tiberias. Just before the siege, Gamaliel had removed to the former place; and there, as the Rabbins say, the Sanhedrim was first removed after the destruction of the city (Lightfoot, viii. 392). Tiberias was the centre of the zealous Jews in the north, and there the text of the Talmud was published in about one hundred years from this time. As Dean Milman (*Hist. of Jews*, iii. 100) observes, "After the ruin of the temple, and the extinction of the public worship, Rabbinism became a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in modern Judaism." Comp. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vol. iii. 774–9.

[59] They had now also "The Book of Enoch," and the "Fourth Book of Ezra" (II. Esdras), both of which, according to Archbishop Lawrence, were written in the reign of Herod the Great. These works were well adapted to raise the hopes of those who still looked for the Messiah. See especially chaps. lx. and lxi. of the former, and chaps. ii. and vii. of the

them, many of those who acknowledged the divine mission of Christ would be united. While the mass of the Jews held themselves apart from the heated expectations of the more ardent spirits in the midst of them, these successors of the fanatics in the late war were joined, though with a different interpretation of their hopes, by many of the followers of Christ.

Up to the time of their removal from the city, they believed, and they had conscientiously acted on the belief, that the services of Judaism were still incumbent upon them, and involved obligations which could only be discharged in the temple at Jerusalem. Many of those services had a purely secular reference; they were observed in fulfilment of the terms on which the nation continued in existence, and were naturally discharged so long as the metropolis of the nation was undestroyed.[60] Upon the remainder, which expressed the more spiritual emotions of the Jew, on the whole-burnt sacrifice especially, they would look as sacramental memorials of their new Head, and commemorations of the final atonement which He had consummated in His life and death. And now, after this comparatively limited calamity, were they not as much a nation as before? and was it likely that the city consecrated for so many generations, and in which the

latter work, throughout which there are many passages descriptive of Christ's power and glory, which are, in a very high degree, impressive and sublime.

[60] "The first disciples were acquainted with their Master's prediction that the temple and city should be destroyed during the lifetime of some of them; but there is no evidence that they connected this destruction with the cessation of the Jewish covenant (*i. e.* regarded as national and territorial), any more than the modern Jews do."—Johnstone's *Israel after the Flesh*, p. 243, and Preface.

Messiah had Himself actually appeared, should continue trodden down by the foot of the heathen in its present degradation? So they would share in the hopes of the fanatics among the Jews. Others, the better instructed of Christ's followers, knew that the destruction of the temple, the desecration of the holy place, was the sign of the permanent extinction of the local sacredness of Jewish worship, and that the holy places of the land were now only to be looked on as the tombs of departed glory, the venerable memorials of that which had passed away for ever. And they contended zealously against the illusion, carrying so many serious errors in its train, of their fellow members of the Church.[61] It continued, however, and it was naturally fostered by those visits to the holy city which some Christian pilgrims, as well as Jews, would make, and for which facilities, if not inducements, were gradually increased. Those idolatrous tendencies of human nature, unto which a local centre of worship, as well as visible instruments, is so congenial, could only now fasten around Jerusalem. And another catastrophe was needful to break them off from this point of their attachment, and dispel an illusion which would have raised up the most serious hindrances to the extension of the Church, and have fatally obstructed the truths which it was commissioned to make known.[62]

[61] What this Christianized Judaism was capable of becoming under the influences now at work, may be seen by the heresy of Cerinthus, which was so vehemently opposed by the last Apostle. (Neander's *Ch. History*, vol. ii. pp. 42–47.)—E. T.

[62] As Dean Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, i. 447) remarks, while "in foreign countries, the irrepealable and eternal sanctity of the Mosaic law was the repressive power which was continually struggling against the expansive force of Christianity, in Jerusalem this power was the holiness of the temple. With the fall of the temple, therefore, this strongest bond with

That catastrophe was introduced by the sanguinary tumults in Cyrene, in Alexandria, and in the Mesopotamian provinces, which mark the Jewish history in the reigns of Trajan and his successors. The extent and numerousness of the Hebrew communities in these countries—the consciousness of their superiority, not only to their fellow-subjects, but also to their haughty lords—the great hopes of which their sacred books, now more widely dispersed than ever, reminded them—and their sense and remembrance of injury in the destruction of their ancient temple, awakened these revolts.[63] We may imagine with what interest they were regarded by those in Palestine whose feelings we have just described. They could not hold themselves aloof from these enterprises; and their share in them, and the dangerous power which their central position enabled them to exert, prompted those counsels on the part of Hadrian that were to have their fulfilment in the obliteration of all its national charac-

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which the heart of the Jewish Christian was riveted to his old religion, at once burst asunder. The practice of our Lord and the Apostles had to him seemed to confirm the inalienable local sanctity of this 'chosen dwelling' of God; and while it yet stood in all its undegraded splendour, to the Christian of Jerusalem it was almost impossible fully to admit the first principle of Christianity, that the Universal Father is worshipped in any part of His created universe with equal advantage."

[63] For an account of these revolts, see Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs*, vol. vi. p. 319, and Bishop Münter's *Essay*, cited in note, p. 56. As usual, the Rabbins exaggerate the results of them, but, as they are reported by Dion Cassius they are sufficiently terrible to explain the cautious and lenient policy with which the Jews had been previously treated. Their vast numbers and wide dispersion, their vigour and wealth, and, above all, their possession of a central rallying place, must have made them the continual source of anxiety to their imperial rulers. Dean Milman (*Hist. of Christianity*, ii. 148, 149) suggests that with this revolt was connected the persecution of the Christians by Pliny under Trajan.

teristics from the land which otherwise might be the centre and occasion of the most perilous commotion.

In furtherance of this purpose he began to reconstruct the ruins of the city, and to rebuild on the site of Jehovah's temple, and out of its massive ruins, one sacred to Jupiter. Thus, in name and in fact, he determined to heathenize the holy territory. And it was this determination which introduced the final catastrophe of the Jewish nation, the closing scene in the history of Palestine as the Land of Promise, and the inheritance of the people of Jehovah.[64] It gathered into a focus all the excitement that had been kindling for more than fifty years. And now, immediately after the tidings of the imperial decree, which, if it should be accomplished, was, in truth, the knell of the nation's doom, it was announced that—in this, which they would naturally feel was the great crisis of their history—the Messiah had appeared. Their fathers had expected Him in the midnight of their fortunes. But then, in former years, dark as the times were, the midnight was only drawing on. Now, in this last outrage of their lords, the hour had struck, and The Deliverer, faithful to his promise, had arrived. There had been many "false Christs and false prophets before, who had deceived many." But miraculous prodigies attested the authenticity of the mission of this Great One. And, more than this, their greatest Rabbi,

[64] This, at least, is the account which Dion Cassius (lxix. 12) gives of the transaction. He expressly says that, on account of this determination of Hadrian it was, that the war "οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη." Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* iv. 6), on the contrary, states that the building of the temple of Jupiter was not commenced by Hadrian until after the revolt was quelled. For an explanation of this discrepancy, see Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vol. vi. p. 337.

one in whom they saw more than the spirit and power of Elias, had given in his allegiance to this last claimant of Messiah's throne. Who could doubt that Bar Cochab was He, for whom they looked, when Rabbi Akibah, the Elijah, the Isaiah, the Daniel of his time, had accepted His claims, and acknowledged His dominion?[65]

Once more, then, and it was for the last time, the Jews rose up on their ancestral soil, and reoccupied the city of their fathers. The foreigner was expelled, the sanctuary was reconstructed, and again the altar blazed with the morning and evening sacrifice. There was again a king of the nation upon Mount Zion. Those who had shared in the Mesopotamian and African rebellion, joined him in large numbers. The insurrection was more general, and far more formidable than that which had been quelled by Titus. The people believed not less earnestly than their fathers had done, that this was in truth the final struggle for the Land of God. With such a belief and hope, they fought as the posterity of David might have been expected to fight. And if valour, in all forms of patience and of enterprise, could have been successful, they would have succeeded.[66] But again theirs was a false hope, and now

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[65] This Rabbi Akibah was president of the Sanhedrim at Jamnia, and had, says Lightfoot (vol. iii. p. 394), 24,000 disciples. All needful deductions being made, he must have been a man of wonderful vigour and attainments. His strangely romantic history is given by Basnage. For an account of Bar Cochab or Bar Corbi (Filius Mendacii), as the Jews, after his defeat, called him, see Münter's *Essay*.

[66] This may be inferred from the length of time (two and a half years) during which the city was actually held by the insurgents, as extant coins testify. O. G. Tychsen, *Diatr. de Numm. Heb.*, quoted by Münter. Appian, quoted by Dr. Robinson, is the only contemporary writer who notices the siege and capture of the city, and he dismisses it in a single sentence:

they were lured on in their anticipations by an impostor. It had been written that they must resign their gift; that Jerusalem, and its daughter cities, should be "trodden down by the Gentiles," during certain appointed "times," and those times had now begun. The holy city was again taken, and the last spark of their ancient hope was immediately after quenched in the defeat at Bether amidst such torrents of blood as had never flowed before in the worst disasters of their history.[67]

And thus was communicated the decisive witness that the Church had passed into that final period of its development, when it was no longer to have a local and visible centre amongst men. Such was the Christian interpretation of the last Jewish overthrow on that fateful ground. No one, wisely considering it, could any longer question

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"Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . . ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ" (*De Reb. Syriac.* 50). Even the Rabbins are silent on the siege of the city, though they largely treat of other parts of the war, and of its results. But the accounts of the conflict, and of its results, given by Eusebius and Jerome (quoted by Münter), show that it must have been more fierce and terrible even than that which was carried forward under Titus.

[67] This may be affirmed on the authority of Dion Cassius, and of Eusebius and Jerome, even though we entirely disregard the Rabbins, who, as reported by Lightfoot (iii. 393), even surpass in this instance their usual extravagance. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* iii. 267–271) suggests the identity of Bether with Bethel. The place appears to have been known, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, as בית תר, Beth Tar—the House of Spies (Lightfoot, iii. 391), on account of men having been stationed there to watch, for the sake of giving information against any who went up to examine the ruins of Jerusalem. Comp. Williams (*Holy City*, ii. 210), who finds Bether in the village of Bettir, about six miles W. S. W. of Jerusalem, on the side of the great road to Gaza. With him agrees Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, p. 347), who found in the neighbourhood of Bettir sepulchral caves, and "many ruins, some of which are evidently more modern than the foundations on which they stand."

that now, as the Church went onward in its course among the nations, they were to look up from all its parts and sections unto a higher centre than the hill of Zion, even to the heaven into which He had passed who had been revealed as its Head.

CHAPTER X.

PALESTINE IN MODERN HISTORY.

And this was indeed the case. Unto those who saw in the changed aspect of all Palestine, and in the ruins now heaped anew on Mount Zion, the sign that the special consecration of the land had ceased, and that an equal sanctity invested every region of the earth, the true aspect of the Holy City and territory was then unfolded. It was still indeed sacred, but now as a tomb or a memorial is sacred; or it was like the hearth on which an illumination had been kindled, that was now poured forth east and west, and north and south, with equal and undistinguished radiance.

The designs of Heaven respecting the Church demanded that, looking away from the place of its nativity, it should go abroad on its world-wide mission; and the occupation of Palestine, as in those years it was occupied, and the political vicissitudes in which it shared, signally and marvellously contributed to that great end. For now it formed one of the three districts of the Syrian province of the empire, and an undistinguished rule was exercised over it from the seat of

government at Antioch.[1] It was perfectly amalgamated with the rest of the imperial territory, and took an unnoticed place with the countries on either side of it. The settlement of any distinct Jewish or Christian communities, except within the most straitened limits, and under severe conditions, became impossible. And all the sacred associations which invested the scenes that had been consecrated by the hallowing recollections of more than 2,000 years were overborne by the pressure and movement of that enterprise which was now casting over the whole land the aspect and distinctions of the Roman civilization.[2] The

[1] Syria was divided by Hadrian into three provinces: (1), *Magna Syria*, or *Syria Major*; (2), *Syria Phœnice*; and (3), *Syria Palæstina*. Each of these provinces had its metropolis; Cæsarea being still the metropolis of Palestine. But Antioch was the residence, or seat, of the chief, *Legatus Augusti*, by whom its affairs were governed. Late in the fourth century, these divisions were increased to seven; of which, Palestine, under the names of *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*, included three. This last division is now recognized and adopted by the Eastern Church.—Comp. Rel. *Pal.* 205.

[2] Of which abundant remains are found in every part of the country. Among them, we may especially refer to the ruins of the towns named, p. 22, and to these may be added the Roman remains which Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* vol. ii. 25, 26) found on the site of Eleutheropolis. Here, however, few traces of luxurious or of magnificent architecture are remarked; in fact, as might be expected from their position on the edge of the desert, and from their comparatively scanty resources in the soil, the population was, as Jerome (*Vita St. Hilarion*) states, of an inferior and half-barbarous character. The richest colonists were settled in Upper Palestine, and especially on the east of Jordan. In the ruins of Gadara, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Bozra, and Cenatha, we have representations, not less perfect and impressive than those of Pompeii, of the domestic and public architecture of these times. Magnificent temples and colonnades, vast theatres, bridges, aqueducts, extensive cemeteries, may still be traced on the ruined sites of this beautiful and rich country. Dr. Eli Smith (Rob. *Bib. Res.* vol. iii. App. 1st ed.) gives the names of 446 places in ruins on the east of Jordan, and their populousness is indicated by the remains of the vast theatres found in each of the chief cities. The country appears, from the inscriptions (Burckhardt's *Syria*, 211–284, and Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii. 115), to have

richer portions of the country shared the favour which made Syria the most eligible foreign home for the Italian colonist; there he felt as if under his native skies, under the sunny clime, and on the rich soil, of his own land.[3] Both Jew and Christian were repelled by his thoughtless and profane occupation of the most venerable scenes, and by the inundations of idolatry that were poured over them. And so, in the course of events, which not even imperial power could arrest,[4] the Church was saved from that local centralization of it in Palestine, which would have marred its purposes, and irretrievably perverted it in the first century of its existence.

This continued to be the case until the Gospel had fixed and rooted itself, westward as far as Britain, and through the

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reached the climax of its prosperity in the times of the Antonines. And two centuries later, Ammianus (lib. xiv.) speaks of it as "*opima varietate commerciorum castrisque oppleta validis, et castellis. . . . Hæc quoque civitates habet inter oppida quædam ingentes, Bostram et Gerasam, atque Philadelphiam, murorum firmitate cautissimas.*"—Rel. *Pal.* 85.

[3] This remark applies to north and east Palestine. There, a native of the south of Europe would feel at home, as in his own land. Comp. p. 255. The single disadvantage of his position would be his liability to incursions from the Bedouins hovering on the Roman settlements; and it was mainly as a defence against them that the fortified structures mentioned in the previous note were built.

[4] The favourable dispositions towards the Christians of some of the emperors (*e. g.* of Antoninus Pius, of Septimus Severus, at least in the earlier part of his reign, of Alexander Severus, and of Philip of Bozra, who was believed to be a Christian) would have naturally favoured the same policy which, from sinister motives, Julian manifested towards the Jews. They would have admitted Christianity amongst the *religiones licitæ*, and have given its disciples a recognized position—as, in fact, Alexander Severus did in Rome. The supremacy of the Church in Palestine would have naturally followed; but the superstition of the pagan inhabitants of the country, as well as the jealous zeal of the Christians themselves, prevented the accomplishment of these purposes.

provinces of Persia on the east.[5] And then, but not till then, did the Church come to claim an established position on the land of its nativity. One of the purposes of its establishment when Constantine effected this in Palestine, it is not hard to trace. It was just before the great migration of the nations, and before the Roman Empire was broken up into the fragments which constitute the modern world, that Palestine wore over its whole surface a Christian aspect, and that the occasional pilgrimages of which it had been the object during the two previous centuries, became an essential part of the Christian discipline, both of the West and East.[6] Then, too, the same desert places which were the old haunts of the Essenes, were filled with crowds of those who believed that sin might be expiated, and devotion quickened, if they could only pass their days where the life battle of the godly men of old was fought, and linger on the spots which their Lord had consecrated by His presence, and His

[5] The extent of the diffusion of Christianity in Persia appears from the large number of Christians who suffered in the persecutions under Sapor, at the beginning of the fourth century.—Sozomen, *Hist. Ecc.* lib. ii. c. 1–13.

[6] We have no express mention of any pilgrimages before the middle of the second century (Robin. *Bib. Res.* i. 372). But, considering the extent of intercommunication between the different provinces of the empire at this time, and the amount of the Christian population, the devout visitors to the scenes of the sacred history must have been numerous. Tertullian, writing at the end of the second century, in the often-cited passages (*Ad Scap.* sect. ii. and *Adver. Gentes*, sect. 37), speaks in perhaps exaggerated language of the numbers of the Christians in the empire; but it has been computed that, in his days, there could not have been less than 3,000,000 of these who were familiar with the Christian Scriptures, from as many as 60,000 copies then in circulation. (Norton's *Gen. of the Gosp.*, vol. i. p. 31.) With the existing facilities for the journey many of this large number would travel into Palestine. Pilgrimages could not have *suddenly* become so common as to make Augustine assert that the whole world flocked to Bethlehem, or so as to justify the statements hardly less strong in Paula's letter to Jerome.

ministry.[7] An error, indeed! But those same men would have been the victims of worse errors elsewhere at this time, and their presence on the sacred ground was necessary for the accomplishment of momentous purposes. In this gathering and assemblage from all nations of pilgrim crowds, just at the era of a new division of the human family, and when there was besides an imminent danger that the historical realities of the Christian revelation might melt away, and be exhaled through the influence which the last struggles of the heathen philosophy exerted on the Church—we may trace the accomplishment of some of the great reasons for which Palestine was consecrated. Christianity went forth with refreshed power when it was carried, amongst the newly rising nations, by the agency of those who proceeded on their missionary enterprise, influenced by the memories of Bethlehem, and Nazareth, and of Jerusalem.[8] As again we see it rescued

[7] Along the sides of the deep ravine of the Kedron, near the convent of Mar Saba (note, p. 247), and in the caves whose dark openings are seen on the face of the mountain of Quarantania, opposite the site of Jericho, we find the dwellings of the Christian anchorites who, as successors of the Essenes, occupied these solitudes long before regular monastic establishments were founded in Palestine. In his *Life of S. Saba*, Cyril, himself a monk of Palestine, states that thousands dwelt in the neighbourhood of the convent which S. Saba built in the fifth century. Hilarion, whose Life was written by Jerome, was the founder of regular monastic establishments in Palestine, at the beginning of the fourth century. His own monastery appears to have been near his native place, in the neighbourhood of Gaza. And, from his time to the present, both the Latin and Greek Church have had large monastic communities in the Holy Land, such as those now in Bethlehem, in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and in Nazareth.

[8] We have a specimen of these narratives in the *Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim* (A.D. 333), and in that of Arculfus, written by Adamnanus, Abbot of Iona, from the recital of the traveller himself, who was a French bishop, circ. A.D. 697.—See Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn, 1848. Written narratives of pilgrims would be extensively circu-

by the same means from the dangers that assailed it in the heresies which now arose from its contact with the philosophies of the east and of the west.[9]

For the purpose of meeting these heresies, and of counteracting them, the establishment of the Christian Church at this period in Palestine, was indeed of the most momentous consequence. Its central position, the sacredness which hung over it, its material hold on the historical realities of the Gospel history, well fitted it as the ground on which a witness and protest could be effectively maintained against the rationalizing tendencies of the West, and the vague idealism and dreamy mysticism of Eastern minds. These were the dangers of the times, and here they might be best confronted. Arius and Nestorius could nowhere be assailed with such advantage as on the ground where, for two thousand years, the witness of a Divine message had been upheld, and where every association tended to heighten the devout reverence which was rightly claimed for the Nature and the Person of our Saviour Christ. As, again, on the same ground, with all its material testimonies to the literal truths of the Incarnation, Eutyches

lated about the earlier of these periods, when there was continual and rapid communication between the churches and religious communities throughout Christendom, as the extensive correspondence of Augustine and of Jerome shows.

[9] Or, perhaps, it should be rather said of the rationalizing tendencies of the West, out of which (*e. g.*) the Arian and Nestorian heresies may be said to have arisen. Their *negative* characteristics were met by the associations and influences of the sacred places, whose definite tangible reality must have also had a considerable effect in restraining the vague mysticism of the (characteristically) Eastern theologians. And, in this connection, the fact is most significant that the entire phase of heresy condemned by the four great councils was passed through within 150 years after Palestine had been, as we may say, Christianized under Constantine.

was comparatively powerless. Here, then, at this momentous period, the battle of the faith against its two great foes was fought in circumstances of special and eminent advantage, which nowhere else could have been secured for its champions; and, while sending out influences of life and power through the communities of Christendom, the Christian Church was here strengthened to repel both the carnal, and the spiritualizing tendencies that would have removed it from the ground of devout and reverential, as well as of authentic historical belief.[10]

These momentous purposes were accomplished during the second three of the centuries of Christian time. But meanwhile, the germ of another fatal error, arising out of the inherent vices and infirmities of the human spirit in matters of religious faith, was being developed. It had become impossible to localize Christian life and worship, and to gather it around one centre, but the memorials which had been the aids of faith and love, now claimed for their own sake devout affection and regards. The loving reverence with which the Christian in Palestine lingered upon the ground so dear to him and hallowed, and which

[10] Nowhere was a stronger testimony borne against the heresies of the period than in Palestine. "In the fourth century, the Arian controversy had much to do with the repeated depositions of Cyril from the see of Jerusalem. In A.D. 415, Pelagius himself appeared before two tumultuous synods at Jerusalem, and Diospolis (Lyddâ). About the same period, we find in and around the Holy City, the germ of the controversy which, a century later, raged with such vehemence against the Origenists."—Dr. Rob. *Bib. Res.* vol. i. pp. 380–1. The conflict with the Monophysites, in which S. Saba took such an honourable part, then succeeded, and the most momentous consequences must be attributed to the earnestness with which the champions of the central truth of the Incarnation maintained it at this time in Palestine.

especially cast such an awful sacredness around the scenes of his Lord's sorrows and death, began to sink and degenerate into another, and even a more evil, form of the same idolatry that had blinded his predecessors to their ruin. They, fastening on the outward circumstances of their calling and position, had worshipped them, invested with a glory borrowed from the future. They were maddened in their zeal by the belief that one was at hand who would plant His throne on the Hill of Zion, unfold to the world the Divinity that had always dwelt there as in its chosen place, and compel all nations to come up to the Holy City, and present their offerings and worship at His feet. From the future they had drawn the influence which led them to deify and worship the materialism around them. The same error was now fed, and cherished, in the minds of the early Christians by their devout recollections of the past. Relics and pilgrimages were becoming fatally the occasion of idolatry; the superstition of the holy places was growing deadly in its influence; and from the tendency to etherealize Christian truths and doctrines, there was now a fatal reaction in the line of fastening the mind exclusively on what were only good as the mere aids and implements of worship.[11] Another interposition of the Divine Ruler of

[11] "Here (in Palestine) and now, we see the conflict going on between the original, free and purely Christian, ... and the encroaching, sensuous, half-Jewish, and half-Pagan, spirit which would rob the inner man of the liberty achieved for him by Christ, and make him a slave to outward earthly things."—Neand. *Hist. of Ch.* vol. iii. p. 486, E. T. In illustration of these tendencies, it is sufficient to refer to the "Invention of the Cross" (described by Sulp. Sever. *Hist.* ii. 33, 34), and to the "Discovery of the Relics of St. Stephen" (of which the details are attached to Aug. *De Civ. Dei*), about eighty years later. It was a natural consequence of these tastes and habits, that the grossest impostures were

the Church was needed to break up this new infatuation, and counteract the corrupting tendencies by which the very life of the Gospel was imperilled.[12]

And it soon came. Nations which held in fragments, with the strength of a narrow exclusiveness, principles that had been fully revealed to the Christian Church, were sent —each one to utter its protest on that central ground against the errors by which those principles were obscured and overborne. The hosts of the Persians and Saracens were commissioned on the work. Their war-cry disturbed the dreams of superstition; their flashing scimitars broke the new spells which were destroying Christendom by the most fatal and imbecile delusions. Fighting under the banner of light, with zeal kindled by their sacred fire, the followers of Zoroaster came, in the inspiration of nature,

practised on the visitors to the Holy City; and here, and in the want of accurate knowledge of Scripture, and of an intelligent survey of the ground, we have an explanation of many of the false traditional sites which have perplexed modern travellers.—(Rob. *Bib. Res.* i. 252–5.) For the most part, the Christians who came as visitors to Palestine, or who took up their abode in the country, had only scanty means of communicating with the natives in their own language. Even among the Fathers, Origen and Jerome alone appear to have studied the Semitic dialects. The pilgrims were, in general, helpless under the impostures practised on them; and worse evils followed these deceptions. Jerusalem had become such that even Jerome rather discouraged than advised a visit to it. See his *Epist. to Paulinus*, in which he speaks of the "scorta, mimi, scurræ, et omnia, quæ sunt in cæteris urbibus," as being in Jerusalem, even in his days.

[12] "Christianity," says Neander (*Hist. of Ch.*, vol. v. 116), "was already (in these countries) beginning to die out in meagre form of doctrines, ceremonial rites, and superstition." See also Gieseler (*Hist. of Ch.* vol. ii. 141–147). We may take as one example the *miraculous* image of Christ which was carried before the Roman army in their expedition into Persia, A.D. 589; of which image Gibbon (c. 46) speaks as the first of the ἀχειροποίητοι Christian images. "I had almost," he adds, "said idols." Hence Mahomet always charges the Christians with being idolators. "The Christians," he says (*Koran*, ch. v.), "have forgotten what they received from God."

to chastise those by whom, under pretexts of devotion, the God of nature was dishonoured. But a few years sufficed for the accomplishment of their work; and then, with a higher commission, and in a nobler fulfilment of it, the Saracens succeeded them.[13]

There was truth and wisdom in the message which the Persian had uttered so fiercely in the ears of those who were losing all nobleness, all saving grace, in their besotted heed to the mere instruments of the heavenly communications. But the followers of Mahomet spoke not of natural agencies, but of the God who ruled them—of His Oneness and Sovereignty, and of the wisdom and obligation of absolute submission to His will. Their chivalrous valour, their self-devotion, their high culture, as well as their nobleness of bearing, shamed Christendom out of many of the follies which then disgraced it, as others were exterminated by them. In the face of the Christian nations, they taught lessons, and manifested virtues, and recalled man's attention to first principles, which were now in the course of being utterly forgotten, as men looked out upon the boundless, and richly-filled prospects, which the Gospel revelation had opened out before them. We cannot hesitate to recog-

[13] "In the Christian nations which were permitted to fall under the armies of Islam, almost as much as in those which were avowedly Pagan, the sense of a Divine Almighty Will, to which all human wills were to be bowed, had evaporated amidst the worship of outward images, moral corruptions, philosophical theories, religious controversies. . . . . The awe of an Absolute Eternal Being was passing away. . . . . It was given to the soldiers of Mahomet to make this proclamation: 'God verily is, and man is His minister, to accomplish His will upon earth.' This, we shall find, was the inspiring thought in the warriors of the Crescent. . . . . The Mahometan went forth to beat into powder all the gods whom man had invented."—Maurice, *Religions of the World*, Lect. I.

nize Mahomet as commissioned to recall the human mind to the first principles of all theology, and to set forth, in such impressive manifestations as his high-bred race was capable of, the manly virtues, in their simplest, noblest form. Like all human missions, his was often discharged with weakness, and excess and violence were marked on it. But, as it was needed at this time, so it was accomplished by the prophet, and his hosts, and it wrought as an influence of life and power upon the Church. Winds of health—often, indeed, rising into storms—were stirred by the Saracen, to dissipate a miasma that was breeding death in human souls, and for the dispersion of clouds that were hiding from them the true vision of their God.

In front of the Christian Church, and menacingly bordering it on all sides, the Saracen bore this witness as from a distance. But upon the old ground he most impressively conveyed it, and did his chief work in direct, immediate intercourse with those who needed it. Himself reverencing the ancient sites of Jewish glory, and those, also, where the mission of Jesus had been accomplished—he cordially received all who came with purposes of devotion into the consecrated land.[14] And now, during his occupation of it,

[14] This was, in part, the consequence of the liberal teaching of many parts of the Korun. See especially chaps. v., vi., xiv., from which the duty of toleration might naturally be inferred. It was also the consequence of the extensive trade between east and west, of which Syria was an emporium. In the seventh and eighth centuries, there was an annual fair in Jerusalem, which gathered the people of all countries to the Holy City. See *Early Travels in Palestine*, where Arculfus' account of this fair is given, and where, in his and in Willibald's narrative, various intimations of the friendly reception which pilgrims at this time met with in the Holy Land may be observed. Charlemagne's cordial communications with Haroun El Rashid are well known. One of the signs of the Caliph's good-

they came in large numbers from all quarters of the world. When they came, they found it comparatively clear of those influences which had made pilgrimage mischievous and dangerous; for his iron tread had stamped down and crushed the follies which had been springing up so numerously, and with so much rankness. And the devout visitors received, with comparatively few abatements and drawbacks, the aids which might hence be lawfully derived to a true historic belief. Moreover, besides instruction, they received influences of power and intelligence, which wrought mightily and benignly on the rising nations of the West. From the Saracen, the pilgrim visitors to the territory of which Providence had constituted him the guardian, received letters and philosophy, examples of manly virtue, lessons of self-sacrifice, as well as sacred impressions, and helps to his devotion. Along with those recollections, which maintained the Gospel in its true form as the message and work of an incarnate God, he carried back to his city, or to his monastery in the West, tales of gentleness and fortitude, of high and gallant bearing, wholly unlike the demeanour of the churchmen and fierce barons who gave the tone of his home society. Or, if he came from the East, he corrected, by the material recollections he bore away with him, his tendencies to mysticism and abstraction.[15]

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will towards the great Emperor was seen in his concession to Charlemagne of the jurisdiction of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the buildings in connection with it.—Comp. Michaud, *Hist. des Crois.* liv. i.

[15] This influence was, in general, exercised during the two, or two and a half, centuries (see following note) through which the Saracens retained their energy, and the position which had been acquired by their conquests. The high tone and bearing of this pure Semitic race, and "its wonderful

In such developments as these we recognize the influence of Palestine on the progress of the Church during the centuries while the Saracens held possession of it. But now, as time passed on, another purpose was to be accomplished, of most momentous bearing on the course of Christendom—on its purity and freedom. Another three hundred years had passed away when the enlightened and tolerant Saracen was displaced, and when the fierce and barbarous men who had become his masters, succeeded him. The Semitic influence had wrought its work in the advancement of the race which was to be henceforth paramount; and, as Palestine had been the chief centre from which this influence had been diffused, it was now to summon those who had been so wrought on, to the enterprise for which it had prepared them. For now, instead of the valiant, chivalrous, and accomplished guardians of the holy places, we behold those keeping them whose ignoble and savage nature had no sympathy with the reverence with which they were regarded, and who received the Christian pilgrims with violence and outrage, and menaced the Western nations with an ignominious subjection. This apparition of the Turks as the rulers of the consecrated land, introduced the next stage in its

capacity for affecting the spiritual condition of our species by the projection into the fermenting mass of human thought of new and strange ideas, especially those of the most abstract kind" (Rawlinson), enabled them, as holders of the sacred territory at this period, to work most salutary effects on the rude, uncultivated nations then rising in the west. Much of this influence appears to have been conveyed from the Saracenic communities in Spain and the east, to the peoples on whom it wrought, by the learned Jews of this period. (Bishop Hampden's *Bampt. Lect.* p. 444.) But still larger masses were affected by it, in and through the pilgrims who now visited Palestine.

history, and opened out the next great purpose it was to subserve in the progress of mankind.

They had come down in one of the great migrations from the Asian deserts, and, moving westwards, had made their way through the vast Saracenic empire, which now stretched from the Indus to the Mediterranean. They slowly passed through it, in the lapse of the centuries we have just spoken of, receiving from it some influences of intelligence and culture; and yet, though included and, in a sense, absorbed in it, they never amalgamated with the superior race, or lost, during their intercourse with this Semitic people, the original features that marked their Scythian origination. The primeval marks of the lowest class of Noah's posterity were on them even after the long period which had elapsed between their migration from their Tartar home, and their subjugation of the empire of which Syria was one of the provinces. They were still Turks when they came into Palestine as its masters, and enthroned themselves in its ancient cities.[16] And this was soon seen in the coarse outrages which they practised on the Chris-

[16] It was about the year 840 that the Turcomans, or Turks, were brought, from beyond the Oxus, into the service of the caliph as mercenary soldiers. They soon acquired ascendancy over their masters, who were now beginning to degenerate; and, gradually making their way through the provinces of the empire, became masters in all of them. "The Turks present the spectacle of a race poured, as it were, upon a foreign material, interpenetrating all its parts, and at length making its way through it, and reappearing in substance the same as before, but charged with the qualities of the materials through which it had been passed, and modified by them. . . . . So, in the course of centuries, they slowly soaked, or trickled, if I may use the words, through the Saracenic populations with whom they came in contact, and at length appeared with that degree of civilization which they at present possess, and took their place within the limits of the great European family."—Newman's *Lectures on the Turks*, p. 71.

tian worshippers. True descendants of Ham, reverence and spiritual sympathies were lacking in them. In the later generations of the Saracens, the Christian pilgrims had found less consideration, than had been customary. Sensual luxury and indolence had lowered the high tone of the successors of the Prophet: the Fatimite keepers of the holy places were not what the Abbasides had been; but, their worst oppressions were gentleness, compared with the outrages which these barbarian rulers of the country practised with a ferocity, which was only limited by their indolence, and greedy avariciousness.[17]

Their demeanour towards the pilgrim visitants, and the blight which their presence cast on the land, presaged worse evils. They threatened to sweep in resistless waves of barbarism over Europe; and human progress and civiliza-

[17] In the year 969, the Fatimite Caliphs of Africa subdued Egypt and Syria, and established their capital in Cairo. The Christians, as those who had been favoured by the former and hostile dynasty, suffered at the beginning of this new rule, and under one of the caliphs at the end of it. Indeed, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was during this time twice destroyed, and one of the patriarchs of Jerusalem suffered martyrdom. Upon the whole, however, the treatment of the pilgrims during the century of the Fatimite domination in Palestine was tolerant and favourable; and, indeed, in the memorable year 1000, when the belief of the Lord's coming prevailed throughout Europe, the Holy City was visited by unprecedented multitudes, of all ranks and classes. Motives of policy, as well as their native culture, induced, on the part of the Fatimite rulers of Palestine, a demeanour that was bearable, though less favourable than that of the Abbasides. All the reasons of this conduct were, however, unknown to the barbarous Turcomans, who, in 1078, succeeded the Fatimites in Syria. Now the sacred places were indeed "trodden down;" and outrages, more violent than had ever been before attempted, were practised towards the pilgrims. They are given in painful detail by William, Archbishop of Tyre, who sums up his account of them (lib. i. c. 10) by saying, "In profundum malorum descenderant: unde et abyssus abyssum invocans, abyssus miseriarum abyssum misericordiarum, ab eo qui Deus est totius consolationis, meruit exaudiri."

tion would have been retarded for centuries, if they had not been stayed. It was a crisis in the world's history, and one which, so far as can be seen, would not have been met, if Palestine had not furnished the occasion. The sacred recollections of the Holy Land inspired and united the hosts of Christendom to stay the advance of the hordes which threatened to overwhelm them. No other motive could have stirred Europe over its whole surface, and allied its jealous populations, or could have urged them to pour forth their resources, with such prodigal devotion, in the enterprise of driving back these enemies of men and of God.[18]

For this was the effect wrought by that oncoming of the West upon these shores, which covered them with all classes, the lowest and the highest, of the people who were now the depositories of the heavenly trust. The Crusaders stayed the advance of an inundation which threatened every interest of liberty and truth. Unknowing what they did, and intent only on one object, they also accomplished this. Nor may we fail here to remark the prospective wisdom

[18] There was good reason for alarm, since, in forty years from the first irruption of the Turks from Khorassan, they had conquered all the lands of the Caliphate, and taken the Grecian provinces of Asia Minor. From their capital at Nicæa, Constantinople itself was already threatened by them. It was the imminence of the dangers occasioned by their near approach to Europe, and by their thirst for conquest, which formed the original impulse of the expeditions carried out in the Crusades. The recovery of the "holy places" was, might we say, an afterthought, suggested by the need of some urgent motive to engage the zeal of numbers that would be sufficient for an effective resistance to the threatened inundation. "On ne peut nier," says Michaud, "que les Croisades n'aient puissament contribué à sauver les sociétés Européennes de l'invasion des barbares, et ce fut là sans doute le premier grand de tous les avantages qu'en ait retiré l'humanité." Comp. Sharon Turner's *Hist of Eng.* vol. iv. c. 10.

which made that very scene, where only this work could have been done, the kindler of purposes of zeal and courage, by which alone it could have been accomplished. As no motives less powerful than those which took the Crusaders into Palestine would have availed for the strife and sacrifices they were there engaged in; so even that motive would have been ineffective, had the battle-field on which they contended been less central and advantageous. Had it been farther west, then the impetus of their barbarous foes would have been too strong for them. Had it been farther east, they would have carried on their enterprise at an insurmountable disadvantage.[19] For repelling these foes of civilization and truth, no other scene was so well adapted as Palestine, as, besides, it eminently served the purpose of that fusion of races, and of that dispersion of influences to be exercised by the superior on the inferior classes of the human family—which appeared to have been specially needed at this time. Here was a central common ground, on which the sons of Japhet, and Ham, and Shem could meet, and interchange experience and thought and resources, as they could not have done elsewhere. These purposes we must also recognize among those which were, in fact, fulfilled during the Christian occupation of the

[19] This would have been the case on account of the difficulties which European armies necessarily experience in carrying on warfare in the wide desert spaces of the East, and by which even Roman valour and discipline were baffled. As they are represented in the account of Crassus' defeat at Carrhæ, they were always experienced by the Romans, in every attempt to extend the empire beyond the Syrian provinces, and, in conflict with them, the resources of the Crusaders would have been entirely unavailing. Their enterprise was practicable just at the very spot which alone had power to inspire the motives that originated it.

narrow province within which, after they had established themselves in Syria, the Crusaders were confined.

While their kingdom stood, they had opportunities to exercise this influence, and in some measure it was actually exercised by them. They appear to have been regarded amicably, or at least tolerantly, by their late foes, during their Syrian occupation. Not, indeed, that they consciously did the work we yet see them accomplishing. It was not in any missionary spirit they occupied their ground. Retaliation and conquest were their motives, and they were enfeebled, as, in the eyes of the barbarians, they were disgraced, by their mutual jealousies. Still, through the efforts to which, may we say, their fanaticism impelled them, they were brought into wide and lengthened intercourse with the Eastern nations. There was, indeed, at one time the prospect of their establishing a kingdom almost as extensive as that which had been assigned as the heritage of Israel, and they planted stations at different points upon its boundaries. Their castles were built, and the cross was upraised by them, on the remotest fortresses occupied by the troops of Solomon, and no doubt they meditated the permanent establishment of a Christian empire, widening on either side over the whole of the covenanted territory.[20] We know their unfitness to

[20] They held Hums (Emesa), at the "entering in of Hamath," on the northern boundary of the covenanted territory (p. 127), and, on the south, they occupied strong fortresses in Kerak, and at Esh Shobek (Mons Regalis), about ten miles north of Petra. (Irby and Mangles' *Travels*, c. vii.) But their expedition to Elah was unsuccessful, and they failed in their attempts to take Damascus and Bozrah. The castles in the places above named, those of Banias and Belfort, in West Palestine, and the ruins of Tyre, present, at the present time, the most marked traces of their occupation of the country.

occupy it, and that only one nation blending in itself the peculiarities of every race—as this region is itself an epitome of all the regions of the earth—was adequate to such an enterprise. Still the endeavour secured the results which have just been named. An effective barrier was set to the advance of the desolating progress of the barbarians, and the intercourse, and the mutual influence, of races was secured. The West wrought on the East with its influences of truth, and justice, and steadfastness, so repaying to the sons of Ham some of the benefits it had received from Semitic instruments. Nor was the benefit unrequited by their adversaries: healthy and life-giving influences flowed also on the western nations through their invasion, and sojourn on the consecrated shore.

And this, not only in the enlargement of thought, and increase of material wealth, which resulted from the enterprise. It wrought still more profoundly on the destinies of Europe, and was productive of effects that may be recognized in the form and position of society at the present day. The excitement and commotion of the Crusades was one of the main agencies that broke up the old feudal institutions, and created that sense of personal responsibility, that individual manliness, which was till then unknown. There was a new spirit of enterprise awakened, and new classes of society rose into consequence. Baronial tyranny was weakened, serfdom was abolished. In this manner, we may not circuitously trace European freedom to the consecration of Palestine, since nothing else but the mighty passions which it kindled had power to break down the illusions of which the ruin was needful for the establishment and consolidation of our liberties. And this effect

abides, though the achievements of the Crusaders were soon obliterated and cast away; though on the shores of Palestine they only accomplished a transitory deliverance, and though their purposed rescue was frustrated.[21]

For this was the issue of their enterprise. The fierce guardians of the holy places were again recalled to their office and commission, in prohibition of local religion, in an inexorable protest against the idolatrous worship of the visible agencies, of the mere means and instruments of piety. And as this was especially needed after the Crusades had ended, it was never more effectually accomplished than at that time. For more than two centuries afterwards, the land was the scene and theatre of ferocious war between new hordes of the northern barbarians coming down from their native deserts, and those in Egypt and Syria who were already in possession of the spoil.[22] Comparatively few travellers would adventure themselves on the sacred

[21] In his *Introduction to the History of Charles V.*, and in his *History of America* (Book i.), Dr. Robertson first ventured the statement that the view of the Crusades which represented them as a useless waste of the life and resources of Europe was far from well founded, and that, in reality, they had promoted civilization and refinement, and secured liberty in the European nations, and, especially, that commerce had been largely extended by their means. This view was afterwards learnedly maintained by Heeren's *Essay on the Influence of the Crusades*, in the Memoirs of the French Institute, and will be found supported in detail by Michaud, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, passim, but especially in liv. xxii. Comp. also some excellent remarks in Guizot's *Lectures on Civilization*, vol. i. 149–160.—E. T.

[22] During these centuries, the sufferings of the country under the successors of Alexander, when the kings of the north and of the south alternately claimed and conquered it, were repeated. Now, the rival claimants were the Mogul Emperor, and the Sultan of Egypt. Gibbon (c. lxv.) gives an outline of the history of this period from De Guignes, who, in tome iii. of his *Histoire Générale des Huns*, &c., recounts it in detail, and mainly from the original (Arabic) authorities.

ground, pilgrimages were discouraged, and many of the mischiefs of memorial idolatry, to which the European nations were, at that time, especially liable, were averted in this manner. Just when new glories gathered round the land, and there was an emulation in the deifying of memorials—in the material worship of the past—the most sanguinary strife embarrassed all the approaches to the Holy City, the sword waved round it so as to make it almost inaccessible.[23]

This restriction, however, was in a large measure taken off when the Ottoman empire was established, and once more, and for the sixth time, Palestine was settled as one of the provinces of a widely extended and well-compacted realm. Then it shared in the comparative tranquillity that followed the new settlement of the East, and was again visited freely, and without hindrance, by the pilgrim companies from Europe, and from the Christian communities of Egypt and of Asia. And here again we may trace the influence of the position of the land, and of its fortunes, on the history of Christendom. For a time was drawing on, when free access to the places where the Incarnate Son of God lived through His human life, and where the events of sacred history were transacted, was

[23] The significance of this period in the history of the country is illustrated in the history of the *House of Loretto*, the legend connected with which serves, says Dr. Stanley (*Syria and Palestine*, p. 443), "as an illustration of the history of holy places generally. . . . When Palestine was closed to the devotions of Europe, the natural longing to see the scenes of the events of sacred history did not expire. . . . Can we wonder that, under such circumstances, there should have arisen the feeling, the desire, the belief, that if Mahomet could not go to the mountain, 'the mountain must come to Mahomet?' The *House of Loretto* is the petrifaction, so to speak, of the 'last sigh of the Crusades!'" Accordingly, it is said to have been brought over, and placed on its present site, at the close of the thirteenth century.

needful to resist those influences of unbelief, and that mere notional theology, which were beginning to be developed in the Church.[24] And this was the more needful, since Syria had now ceased to be the route of communication with the East, and its trading stations and factories on the coast were consequently broken up.[25] Freer access into the country has accordingly been allowed during the three centuries in which Palestine has acknowledged allegiance to Constantinople, and Christians have been admitted there, amongst the other races and religions over which, in that land, the Sultan has supreme control.

For although it is in the middle of his wide territory, the Ottoman is there as a foreigner amongst its inhabitants: they comprise the most dissimilar races, being, as we may say, the deposits of the many inundations that have swept over the country, surviving representatives of the different scenes in the long succession of its history.[26] And over

[24] At this time, travellers into Palestine, as distinct from pilgrims, were not only more numerous (Rob. *Bib. Res.* app. i. vol. iii.), but were far more intelligent in their researches, and in their account of them. "In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries we find writers whose professed object is the acquisition of knowledge . . . . . though it was not till the close of the eighteenth that there arose a class of those who may be called discoverers."—*Quart. Rev.* vol. xciv. p. 359. This change in what may be called the topographical literature of Palestine, is strikingly marked by the publication, in 1714, of Reland's *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus Illustrata*, which is so often referred to in the preceding notes, and which is still the standard work on the ancient geography of the country.

[25] In consequence of the increasing commerce with India and the East, carried on by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, and still more by Vasco de Gama's discovery, in 1498, of the route by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Robertson's *History of America*, book i., and *Historic. Disser. on India*, sect. iii.

[26] Syrians, Greeks, and Arabs—the civilized Arab as well as the mere Bedouin—Jews, and Christians, form the bulk of the inhabitants of the country in which the Turks, though paramount, form an inconsiderable

all of them he has held a severe and tyrannical, and yet an ineffectual, control. Nor have any felt the effects of this more severely than those who have gone up to the land, recognizing its consecration, as to the Church's home and native place. While the barbarous ruler of the land has only admitted them under vexatious, and often harsh restraint, they have been the victims of cupidity and violence on the part of his turbulent subjects, which their habits, and their purposes in entering the country, have hindered them from effectually resisting. Unwarlike, devout, contemplative men, they have ever, more or less, been the prey of those over whom the Turkish rule is powerless, while, with unconcealed contempt, they have been excluded from many of the sites most hallowed in their regards.[27] So that, while admitted during the last three centuries on the sacred territory, they have gone there under many disadvantages. The fierce custodian of the Holy Land has exercised his guardianship so rudely, and with such stern-

minority. In this respect Palestine has no parallel in any other province of the Ottoman empire. From the Upper Lebanon to the Paran desert, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, all varieties of race and temperament are still found; and though their abode is in the middle of his wide territory, the Turk is living as a foreigner amidst them.

[27] *E.g.* the Haram, the "Sepulchre of David," the mosque of Hebron, are still closed, as they have long been, by Moslem bigotry, both to Jewish and Christian pilgrims. It is true that the interdict on a visit to the Haram has recently been relaxed, and David's Tomb has, once at least, been lately entered.—Barclay's *City of the Great King*, p. 208, and c. xvii. But the Hebron mosque, which, beyond question, was built over the Cave of Machpelah (Robin. *Bib. Res.* ii. 78, 79), is absolutely inaccessible. We know nothing, certainly, of its interior, except from the description (quoted by Dr. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 363) of Ali Bey, the Spanish traveller, who, about the beginning of this century, entered the sacred place in the disguise of a Mahometan pilgrim. It is also described, but apparently from the report of others, by Benjamin of Tudela (1160) in his *Travels*.

ness, that hasty, anxious visits, mere glances by stealth, have, in many cases, alone been practicable. His rule would not permit the pilgrim to pause, and rest, and stay, so as to make himself a home upon the land.

And yet when we consider what, even during the last three centuries, the consequences might, nay, must have been, if greater freedom had been given to Christian visitors, we may well acquiesce in the arrangement. How many of the misconceptions and of the superstitions, which have marked Christianity in this period would have acquired fresh strength, and have been consolidated on the sacred sites, if the Church might have been established on them? We are only now beginning to learn the true uses of the materialism of Palestine in confirming and interpreting our historical belief. While the constant superstition of these three centuries would have had renewed power, if Palestine had been free and clear, how might the fanaticism of the seventeenth, and the cold rationalism of the eighteenth, have been made far more deadly in their influence? The one would then have been kindled into worse madness; the other, in its misjudgment of historical evidence, and in its narrow sympathy, might have fetched home all manner of pretexts to confirm its unbelief.[28] We

[28] Enough has been said concerning the first of these consequences of freer access into the sacred territory. But the second is not less deserving of attention. In regard of travel in Palestine, Pascal's profoundly wise remark, "There is light enough for those whose sincere wish is to see, and darkness enough to confound those of an opposite disposition," is emphatically applicable. If any one goes there in an indocile, untrusting spirit, and with merely popular and superficial views of Scripture, he is as likely to be confounded, as instructed and confirmed in his faith, by what he sees. And as this is true of the crowd of unlearned travellers, so, of those who enter the sacred territory for purposes of independent historical research,

have passed those dangers; we now understand, for we have lived through, every phase of the madness which a perverted Gospel can originate. And just at this time, when better prospects are dawning on the Church, signs, which cannot be mistaken, assure us that the "treading down of the Gentiles" is nearly at an end.

For a long time the Turk has held his position by the sufferance or consent of the Christian nations, and his tenure has been continually becoming more and more precarious. He has been growing weaker, while their power has increased, and their resources have been multiplied. Unlike the Western nations, in the Eastern empire there has been no internal development, no growth, and no invigoration.[29] All the signs which mark the decay of barbarian nations have multiplied upon him; meanwhile his oppression of the races he is holding in subjection, the cruelty and extortions practised on them, have made them more impatient of his control. In the presence of an united Christendom he must long since have departed: their jealousies have been his security; they have maintained him in his position on the sacred territory as a mutual check on one another. This is the character in which their policy has supported him in his position. And at how great a cost of loss and suffering, the blight and desolation of the

it may be said, they need for their protection from serious errors clear apprehensions of that sound historical criticism, the principles of which, as gathered from a wide and deep survey of human history, are only now in course of being clearly ascertained.—*N. B. Rev.* vol. ii. 563–5, and *Scrip. Studies*, pp. 190–2.

[29] See some very striking remarks on this subject in Newman's *Lect. on the History of the Turks*, lect. iv.; from which he concludes that "it seems likely, at no very remote day, to fare ill with the old enemy of the Cross."

land, the degradation and enslavement of the people, is a witness.[30]

This has at length passed the limits of endurance, and other arrangements of the territory must be made. What this shall be is even now debated in the State councils of the chief nations of Christendom. The special form of the result may be uncertain; but of this there can be no question—that now, when we are beginning to learn the real uses that may be made of the materialism of Palestine,[31] its fierce guardian is evidently on the point of

[30] The present desolation of the country, and the waste of its resources, is dwelt on by every one who visits it. No one has a more intimate knowledge, both of its condition and of its capabilities, than Mr. Porter, who writes thus:—"Here (at Bostra), the Turks manifest no regard for the welfare of the people, or the improvement of the country. If a sordid pasha, who has bought his place, can wring as much from the poor peasant as will replenish his purse (comp. pp. 288, 306), he cares not, though the soil become a desert, the people beggars, and the towns and villages heaps of ruins. It is a question whether the nations of Europe . . . . are justified in leaving such a noble country to the unlimited control of such a set of wasteful, unprincipled tyrants. . . . . Let them make Syria like Egypt, or like the Danubian Provinces, with a hereditary ruler, and an army of its own under an enlightened commander; let them encourage the growth of cotton, of oil, and of wheat; let them aid in the construction of roads and railways; let them foster commerce; and Syria will, ere long, become the garden of the Levant."—*Syria and Palestine*, p. 528. Comp. Dr. Bowring's *Report on Syria*, pp. 9, 19, 29; Osborne's *Palestine, Past and Present*, c. xxvi.; and especially four remarkable papers by the Abbé Guénée in the *Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions* (Paris, 1808), vol. i. pp. 142–246, entitled *Récherches sur la Judée, considérée principalement par rapport à la fertilité de son terroir.*

[31] The Turk, even if he continue to rule, cannot for ever resist . . . . the impetus that is now converging upon the Syrian soil, from England, from America, from France, and from Germany. The Holy Land, its natural surfaces, ... its depths, and these as far down as excavations may reach, will be spread out upon the library tables of Europe and America. But then, and as a consequence of this unfolding, and especially from the unrestricted and thorough examination of the regions round about Jerusalem, and from the upturning of its own rubbish-burdened sites, and from

resigning his commission. He will be sent back to his native home in the remoter East, where he will in due time share in the light which is now hidden from him on the very spot where it was kindled.

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the opening of its subterraneous halls,—facts will be incidentally gathered, small perhaps in their apparent disc, but conclusive and irresistible as to the inferences they support, which shall lead to the establishment of a matured science of biblical interpretation; and this will bring with it, not a triumph of neologianism, or of infidelity, but a final refutation of every theory that is opposed to the Truth of God. — *N. B. Review*, vol. ii. pp. 563–5. See also Appendix, note E.

CHAPTER XI.

PALESTINE IN THE FUTURE.

In our view of the country at the present time, and of that stage of its history which we have now reached, it is impossible to abstain from such speculations concerning the Future. Another scene of the destinies appointed for Palestine is, undoubtedly, at hand. And, without venturing any prognostication as to the political result of those debates of which even now it is the subject, this, at least, may be affirmed, that its changed position, in a few years, must leave it clear, and open to researches that will have the most momentous consequence in their bearings on the verification and illustration of the historical records of the faith.

Those purposes which Palestine has already served in the confutation of heresy and unbelief, will be surpassed by the services it will yet render in this direction. And those who follow us, or the older survivors amongst ourselves, will recognize more clearly than we can do, and with greater reason, the far-seeing wisdom which appointed that country, so central,[1] and on all sides accessible, for the

[1] Comp. p. 147. "I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her" (Ezek. v. 5); on which passage Jerome (quoted in Rel. *Palæst.* p. 52) remarks: "Jerusalem in medio mundi sitam hic idem propheta testatur, *umbilicum terræ eam esse demonstrans.*" As Dr. Stanley has observed, there is a memorial of this belief, that Jerusalem is literally the centre of the earth, in the large round stone in the Greek portion of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in some of the mediæval

transaction of the momentous events which occurred in the training of the Church, and in its early history, during those years when the heavenly communications were vouchsafed to it. Such is our expectation; and thus far it rests on grounds, and may have reasons pleaded in its favour, that are in nowise uncertain, or precarious. May we take one step further in advance; and, in the light of prophecy, conclude this long review of Palestine and of its people by a heedful glance forward at the destinies which seem to be reserved for them?

The predictive[2] portions of the Prophetic Word invite

maps of the world, "such as that of the fourteenth century, preserved in Hereford Cathedral." But may this be called "one of the many instances in which the innocent fancy of an earlier faith has been set aside by the discoveries of later science?" (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 116.) Or, should we not rather say that, under this superstition respecting the Holy City, there was a great truth hidden, which now, since the limits of the American and African Continents have been discovered, is more impressively seen than ever? May not Palestine now, more truly than ever, be recognized as being what Dr. Stanley so happily calls the "confluence of the East and West?" should we not add, also, of the North and South?

[2] For the predictive must be distinguished from the purely prophetic portions of the writings of the prophets. As Ewald (*Die Propheten des alten Bundes erklärt*, in J. S. L. January, 1853) remarks: "The word נָבִיא (nābhi), which runs through all the Semitic languages . . . . as the oldest and most frequent name for a prophet, originally signifies a *speaker*, who declares the mind and the words of another who does not speak. So the Arabic نَبِيٌّ (nabá) is ordinarily used for a message or information. . . . . Προφήτης, Vates, and the Sanscrit, Vádi, or Vádica, all perfectly correspond in meaning with the above Semitic terms." In some instances, the prophets might themselves perceive remote occurrences as the necessary result of causes, hidden from the idolatrous eye, that were then in operation round them. But, on other occasions, they were specially gifted to discern many occurrences in vivid and pictorial distinctness, which, unless so aided, they could not have foreseen, or even have conjectured. They were carried by these means into the future, and many of their words and writings we must regard as literally predictive. Comp. Archd. Hare's *Mission of Comforter*, vol. ii. 549, 1st edit.; *Scrip. Studies*, pp. 284, 285.

this onward look, for unquestionably they speak of days and of events which have not yet been witnessed, at any stage of the history we have been reviewing. Let it be granted that some of these predictions were accomplished in the establishment of that colony which the policy of the Persian king permitted Jews to found in Jerusalem and Southern Palestine; and that, in the enlargement of the Church, and in the development of the heavenly revelation, after the completion of Christ's atoning ministry, more of them have been fulfilled; still there is a large residue which have had nothing at all in the past, correspondent with their terms and with their emphasis. Only a few examples can be here adduced, in illustration of this statement; and, in estimating their significance, the real character of Zerubbabel's and Nehemiah's restorations must be borne in mind: we must remember that they were the politic establishment of Jewish colonies by a foreign power, in one of the Judean provinces, and in no sense a re-establishment of the entire nation on its own territory.[3]

But surely nothing less than this can be intended when, *e. g.*, we read, "Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and I will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king to them all. . . . I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land

[3] We are liable to be misled by the common expression, "Return from the Captivity," in reading many of the predictions, especially those of Ezekiel and Zechariah, as well as in respect of the history, in the times of Nehemiah and the Maccabees. Comp. c. vii., and especially p. 214.

which I have given them. . . . I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the coasts of the earth. . . . I will say to the north, Give up, and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth. . . . From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughters of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering. . . I will save my people from the east country and from the west country, and they shall come and dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. . . . They shall dwell in the land which I have given to my servant Jacob; and they shall dwell safely therein, and shall build houses and plant vineyards: the wastes shall be builded, and the desolate land shall be tilled. . . . And they shall be my people, and I will be their God in truth and righteousness. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. . . . . Their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people: all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. . . . I will make you a name and a praise among all people of the earth. . . . And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts."[4]

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[4] These passages (Ezek. xxxvii. 21, 22; Amos ix. 15; Jeremiah xxxi. 8, 9; Isaiah xliii. 6; Zeph. iii. 10; Zechar. viii. 7, 8; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxvi. 34; Zechar. viii. 8, 22; Isaiah lxi. 9; Zeph. iii. 20; Mal. iii. 12) are only specimens of a large body of Scripture which explicitly relates to this subject. In Isaiah, chaps. xl. to lxvi.; in Ezek. xl. to xlviii.; and in Zechar. xi., xii., and xiii., there will be found numerous predictions having the same reference, and which are as clear and as emphatic as those above quoted.

The restoration of the people from all regions of the earth, their national establishment, their permanence in their recovered territory, their recognition of truth, their equity, the reverence paid to them by surrounding peoples, their accomplishment of a great mission in the world,—all these things are surely affirmed, with as much explicitness as language is capable of, in these passages, and the affirmation must be verified in the years that lie forward in the world's history: there has been no such general gathering, and no such national recovery and re-establishment, in time past.[5] Other destinies, for the Jews and for their consecrated land, in the future, are here foreshown, and now we may obtain something like a definite conception of them if, upon these predictions, we cast the light of others, not plainer, indeed, but now manifestly in course of fulfilment.[6]

Let us, then, carry our regards on to that period which also we surely know is lying forward in the future, when the light kindled on the hills of Palestine has been univer-

[5] That is, taking the predictions in their literal significance. And thus only, on sound principles of exegesis, can they be taken. Those interpreters who insist on *spiritualizing* them, and who deny that they can have any reference except to the inward and invisible progress of the Divine kingdom, are, it should be observed, claiming for *themselves* the inspiration of seers, in their denial of the possibility of a literal fulfilment of these predictive declarations.

[6] The familiar passages parallel with our Lord's declaration, Matth. xxiv. 14, need not be cited. In fact, the universal propagation of Christianity is no longer matter of faith: we have the pledge of its completion in our view. Already, as one evidence of this, we see branches of the English Church planted all round the world: the English episcopate has already engirt the globe. And, even if there should yet be a pause and failure in our missionary zeal, the diffusion of our native literature will ensure the diffusion of the Gospel along with it: our intellectual chiefs will go everywhere in the character of the disciples of Jesus Christ, and as the announcers (κήρυκες) of His truth.

sally diffused. The Christian revelation has, on all sides, been made known; the Church has been planted in every region of the earth; and men of all races have acknowledged the Gospel as an authentic disclosure of our true position in the universe, and of our relations in the moral system which occupies it, as well as the fulfilment of expectations which even their errors had led them to entertain.[7] Now such an assurance must then be held and manifested, conformably with national peculiarities, with characteristic distinctions of race, with the modifying influences of history, of climate, and of locality. The Christian Oriental and the Christian of the West, while they will be in perfect unity with one another on essential truths, will yet develop their Christianity in thought and practice, each after his own kind: the one animated, imaginative, self-forgetting; the other calmer, and more deliberate, with reason ever predominating in his conceptions. North and South, in the rugged energy of the one, in the alternate fervour and languid sensitiveness of the other, will likewise respectively unfold their appropriate aspects of Christian life and contemplation; and there will be a manifold

[7] As St. Paul always represented the Gospel, and as now the wiser missionary teaching of our own time is representing it. Compare the Apostle's method of announcing Christian truth (1) to the Jews (Acts xiii); (2) to the philosophical heathen (ib. xvii.); (3) to the uneducated heathen (ib. xiv.) In each case he presented the Christian revelation as the fulfilment of that truth which partially held, or even false, religious notions, were leading men "to seek after, if haply they might find" it. It is needless here to mention Dean Trench's Lectures on the *Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom*, but I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity to refer the reader to the Rev. G. F. Maclear's *Cross and the Nations*, an essay of singular wisdom and beauty, which well deserves to be widely known.

diversity along with that unity which, nevertheless, will essentially belong to them.[8]

But now, besides this unity in that future era, our anticipations of it include union amongst the Christian nations of the world: not only are they to be one, but they are to know and acknowledge their fellowship; they are to be so mutually interpreted to one another, that their consciousness of union will be avowed and recognized.[9] And who, except the Jews, are fitted to carry on

[8] "All the effects of Christianity on the life of mankind bear witness to our Lord's declaration, and teach us to understand it aright, that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil. Everywhere the new creation is only the renewal of the old original one, and therefore cannot be in opposition to the laws laid down therein, but must needs bring them to their right accomplishment, to a solution which is, at the same time, a fulfilment. Now among these laws one is, that mankind in their multiplicity, as well of different individual peculiarities in individual men, as also on a larger scale of different national peculiarities, designed to be the complements each of the other, shall work together for the glorifying of God, by showing forth his image irradiating a multiplicity of forms, and for the exhibition of the kingdom of God in the unity and manifoldness of its manifestations. What St. Paul says of the spiritual gifts whereby the particular members of the Church combine to make up what is wanting in each, is also applicable to the difference between nations. '*There are diversities of gifts: but there is one Spirit.*' Each nation has received its peculiar post and office in the creation; and this, as all things find their fulfilment in Christ, the End of the creation, can only be discharged answerably to its purpose, when the nations, through faith in the Saviour, are incorporated in the kingdom of God, and their peculiar natural gifts are appointed to their special ministry therein."—*Neander.*

[9] In that communion between Churches which will prevail in the days we speak of, as it did in primitive and apostolic times (Bingham's *Antiq.* bk. xvi. chap. 1). This has ever been desired and sought for, and not least by many who have been identified with very different feelings on this subject, *e. g.* by Archbishop Sancroft, who, in 1688, exhorted his clergy, "that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them" (*i. e.* "our brethren the Protestant Dissenters") "to join with them in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for the universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad . . . . that all they who do confess the holy name

this work of mediation and reconcilement. Both in their constitution and in their history, they present all the signs and tokens of an instrument which may have the effect of riveting and compacting Christendom together in that conscious oneness which also enters into our expectations of the future. They are masters of all languages; they are at home in the east and in the west; they are denizens of all regions of the globe. And the temperaments of all races are so blended in their own, that they can interpret between those who perhaps cannot naturally sympathize with one another. In the mind of the typal Jew, all phases of the Christian scheme will be reflected, and every mould of its life-development will be witnessed in his demeanour.[10]

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of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His holy Word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."—D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, i. 325.

[10] In illustration of this wide or rather universal capability of sympathy in the Jewish nature, their present dispersion (Deut. xxvi., xxviii.) in all lands, as represented by most of the writers on the prophecies respecting them, may be adduced. "They are present in all countries, with a home in none; intermixed, and yet separated; and neither amalgamated nor lost; but, like those mountain streams which are said to pass through lakes of another kind of water, and keep a native quality to repel commixture, they hold communication without union, and may be traced, as rivers without banks, in the midst of the alien element that surrounds them" (Davison *On Prophecy*, p. 443). This universal "communication without union" betokens that capacity which is spoken of above. Is it not also seen in the "manifoldness of Scripture," in the accordant diversity of the writings (*e. g.* of St. Paul and of St. John), adapted, as Dean Trench remarks, "for the two leading types of mind, for the discursive and the intuitive," and "wonderfully prepared for the winning to the obedience of the Cross both the Western and the Eastern world?" All lesser varieties of intellectual nature are included in the Jews, between these two. The manifoldness in its deep unity of Scripture betokens what I have ventured to call the universality of the Jewish nature, and may we not reverently point to the Incarnation as a still higher witness? That He was a Jew, who was the Son of Man, is the highest evidence and manifestation of the Jew's fitness for communication and sympathy with every race of the human family.

Nor is there any other race of which this can be affirmed, so that we can look to the Jew alone for the accomplishment of work which must be done, and which, since we have no intimation to the contrary, it must be believed will be done by human means.

The Jew, then, will be the bond and the interpreter of the human family. But then, it cannot be as a homeless wanderer that this work will be accomplished by him; and his apprehension of Christianity, and its possession of him, will involve the association of his people in a national polity. How can Christian men exist together in any other character than as the members of a nation?[11] And if the Jew, then, is to be the priest and prophet, the linking agent of the future era, the mediator and interpreter between the human families, where can we imagine his abode, except in his own land? Midway between the hemispheres, and having all skies, climates, soils, all the physical characteristics of all regions in it, it is as much the epitome, the compendium of earth, as the Jew himself is of mankind. Yes, doubtless, Palestine is the home reserved for him. He will again be established on its fenced high places, on its luxuriant plains, on the pastures of its wilderness, having been summoned, in the last days, to accomplish the work which lay, as

[11] And of an independent nation, whose chief government is "not subject to any foreign jurisdiction," and acknowledges that it rules only "by the grace of God." Of such a nation the Jews were raised to be, as they will yet become, an example and witness. Of old, this commission was to be discharged in presence of the military kingdom-empires of the world. And can we doubt that it will hereafter utter the final decisive protest against the ecclesiastical kingdom-empire by which they have been succeeded? Comp. Hook. *Ecc. Polity*, b. 1, c. x., and Field *On the Church*, b. v. c. 33.

we have seen, in the prospect of his seers, though it was only dimly understood by them. And in the highest destiny that can be committed to a people, he will fulfil the loftiest expectations of those heroic men whose souls travailed that their nation might hold its appointed place as the Israel of God.[12]

[12] "It seems to me that everything is tending towards this result (viz., the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth on the very soil which was the original seat of it); that so strange a body as the Israelites are could not have been permitted to exist for so many generations unconnected with any country or polity, if such a destiny were not in reserve for them; that it is a strange and painful effort for the mind even to imagine all traces of national distinctness lost in men who, in their glory and depression, have been for nearly three thousand years witnesses for the existence of such distinctness. . . . I cannot help feeling that the mode in which the claims of the Jews are ordinarily stated has been one great obstacle to our acknowledging them. At one time it would seem as if the modern interpreters of prophecy expected that the Jewish nation should take the place of the universal Church; at another, as if they expected Jerusalem to be the centre of that Church in the next age, even as Rome has tried to be the centre of it in this; at another, as if they believed that in the restoration of all things the Jews were to furnish the one specimen of a true and godly nation. . . . The very approximation to such notions may well inspire good men with some alarm. . . . The prophets speak of the Jewish nation as interpreting to each of the surrounding countries what it ought to be. . . . And the restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth (to this office) will, as I hope, be followed by the restoration to national life, in connection with Christian and Catholic life, of those countries which are now combined under the sceptre of the prophet, separated by the most violent sectarian controversies, incapable of understanding how they may be distinct and yet one. In a Christian Jew a Mahometan sees what he was meant to be; sees the truth embodied which he has been twisting into a denial and a falsehood. I cannot, therefore, quarrel with the conviction of those who dream that the Jews will be the agents in the conversion of the Mahometans, and that the Hebrew nation will be the sun and centre of the Eastern world. But if no one pretends that such a result will be accomplished without great conflicts and heavy judgments, why may I not suppose that the West will, through the like process, attain to a like blessing? Why may I not suppose that the principle of Judaism will be asserted, the exclusiveness of Pharisaism be

In this establishment of the Jew on his own land, and in the mission which he will thus carry forward, we recognize the fulfilment of all the prophetic anticipations which, as we have seen, describe what is still future in his history. But the vision does not imply any supremacy in the Hebrew Church. Whatever honours and advantages shall be enjoyed by it, will be held on the terms of Christian eminence. The "greatness" of the Jews will make them "the servants of their brethren" throughout the world, and, in place of being "lords over God's heritage," their precedence will rather give occasion for the exemplification of virtues which only the strong, and deep, and widely reaching nature of the descendants of Abraham has power to exhibit. Not as the rulers of the churches, or in any relation towards them of unbrotherly supremacy, but as the bond of their union, and as the agents of their intercourse, will the Hebrews again hold the land which by a divine assignment and consecration, was betowed upon them.[13]

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confounded, by the full development of European nations, and of their colonies in the other parts of the world, the universal Church being still the life-giving power, the uniting principle to them all?"—Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*, ii. 438–442.

[13] The Christian law of eminence (Matt. xx. 26; xxiii. 11, 12) is surely forgotten, or thought of as if it had been abrogated, in those representations of the future destinies of Palestine, and especially of Jerusalem, which are given in some writings on "the Millennium," *e. g.* Elliott's *Hor. Apoc.* iv. 209–211. It is difficult to distinguish between them and those false expectations of the future temporal glory of the Jewish nation entertained by our Lord's adversaries, and by those heretics, such as Cerinthus, in the early ages of the Church (Iren. I. 26), who were spoken of in the 41st Article (in the original draft of the Articles), as holding doctrines "repugnant to Holy Scripture," and as "casting themselves headlong into a Jewish dotage." Lightfoot's *Works*, iii. 37, and viii. 23.

It is thus we anticipate the time when the "Law of the Lord will go forth from Zion, and his word from Jerusalem." And in the genuine power of evangelical influence, in the disclosure of his unobscured truth, Christ Jesus will reign through, and by means of the people as one of whom He appeared in the likeness of a man. Unto this true personal reign in the holy territory we look forward.[14] And along with it, and with the diffusive agency which the Jew will carry forward from this central ground, we must combine the influence of the land itself on those who will there meet, as on the central ground of fellowship. Not only will the Jew—though no longer as a homeless wanderer, but as the recognized member of a nation—be found in all lands, but the inhabitants of all will also assemble in his territory. We are bidden by prophecy to anticipate a period when all nations will go up to Palestine, that they may there confer together, and strengthen one another in the fellowship of Christ.[15] In free intelligent movement,

[14] "Why was it expedient that Jesus should go away from his disciples? Evidently (in part) because He could not be constantly approached by all Christians in all parts of the world. Had he remained on earth even to this hour, there must have been millions who could never have come near Him. Whereas, His presence in the spirit renders Him, though invisibly, accessible by all alike (Matt. xviii. 20). For Christ, therefore, to return in bodily person to the earth, and reign at Jerusalem, or in any other place, would be to go back to an earlier and more imperfect dispensation." Archbishop Whately's *Scrip. Revel. of Fut. State*, Lect. vii. See also Archdeacon Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, vol. i. p. 21, and note E., vol. ii. (1st edition).

[15] "Many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the House of the God of Jacob. . . . The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee. . . . Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord." Isaiah ii. 3; lx. 3, 4; Zech. viii. 22.

not in compulsory or superstitious pilgrimage, the highways of access to the sacred territory will again be crowded. Those who are found in them, "with their faces Zionwards," will not go for the discharge of penance, or for the idolatrous veneration of places and memorials, but that in clear, and solemn, and impressive vision, they may look on the witnesses of the Incarnation and the Sacrifice.

And if, in remembrance of the frailty of human nature, we might fear lest the old idolatries should be revived when the ground so hallowed is freely opened, and universally accessible, the fear is dissipated when we remember the instructed interpreters who will be there to guard its holy places from all superstitious desecration. As again, we know there will be a yet more effectual guard against it in the ample outpouring, in those days, of the influences of The Spirit. For this will also characterize the time we have in view: the Church having again, as once before, complied with the terms on which it is vouchsafed, there will be another Pentecost, in those last days, when "God will pour out His Spirit upon all flesh .... and in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call." [16]

[16] Joel ii. 28, 32.

APPENDIX.

Note A.—pp. 31, 110.

In respect of the earlier Egyptian history, I have followed the arrangement which Mr. R. S. Poole has established in his *Horæ Egyptiacæ* (London, 1851). With a remarkable combination of ingenuity and of research, he has proved that many of the first seventeen of Manetho's dynasties were contemporaneous. This had been conjectured from the omissions of Eratosthenes, in his lists; "indeed, the monuments themselves," as Sir G. Wilkinson remarks, "decide the point, by the mention of the years of one king's reign corresponding with those of another, and by the representation of one king meeting another, generally as his superior." (Rawlins. *Herod.* ii. 340, with which comp. *Horæ Egypt.* pp. 162, 173.) The force of these considerations has been acknowledged even by those who have adopted the long chronology, *e.g.* by Lepsius, who says (*Chronol. of Egypt*, p. 364, E. T.), "This (contemporaneity) appears to me most decidedly attested; and I have been able to obtain a direct, and, as I believe, a genuine Manethonic proof of it." (Comp. also Bunsen's *Egypt in History*, vol. i. p. 131.) Mr. Poole, however, was the first to construct a scheme which should represent these synchronous reigns in an order corresponding with the monumental notices, especially with those on the tablets of Karnak and Abydos, and with the written documents. In the view of some of the most eminent Egyptologers, including Sir G. Wilkinson (*Arch. of Ancient Egypt*, p. 132), he has done this satisfactorily, and mainly by the help of two great cycles, which he has discovered, chiefly from

the study of certain astronomical data on the ceiling of one of the halls in the Ramaseum. Of these cycles, the first, which he calls the Tropical Cycle, is determined by the coincidence of the new moon and the vernal equinox. The second, which is the Panegyrical Year, is like the prophetical day-year of Scripture, *i.e.* it consists of as many common years as there are days in each year. Now the sign of the Tropical Cycle occurs twice on the monuments, 1st, in the reign of Amenhema II. (xii. Dyn. Maneth.); and 2nd, in that of Amasis (xxvi. Dyn. Maneth.) This second epoch is fixed by Mr. Airey at 507 B.C. Hence the tropical cycle assigns Amenhema to 2005 B.C., when also the new moon and the vernal equinox coincided; and with this result agrees the testimony of the monuments, which fixed the same king at about 2000 B.C. From this epoch Mr. Poole, again on the authority of the monumental inscriptions, reckons back two panegyrical years to Menes, whose date is thus securely assigned to 2717 B.C. (Bunsen makes it 3643, and Lepsius 3893 B.C.) This is his basis or starting point, and it is in satisfactory accordance with the Septuagint chronology, which fixes the Deluge circ. 3150 B.C. Mr. Poole then arranges the seventeen dynasties so as to make the IIIrd partially synchronize with the Ist; the IVth and VIth to coincide with the IInd, &c.; and the XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth (or the Hyk Shos dynasties) to coincide with the XIIth and XIIIth of the Diospolitan, or Theban kings, who reigned in Upper Egypt, while the Delta was in possession of the invaders.

From this sketch, some general idea of Mr. Poole's method and results may be obtained. No doubt, in some of its details, his scheme is liable to correction from fresh discoveries, such as those of M. Mariette in the Serapeum (see *Extracts from Journal*), which have seriously disturbed Lepsius' arrangement of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. But it is believed that, in the main, his conclusions are invincible; and one of them is, that the reign of the Hyk Shos covered the whole period of the *friendly* commerce of the Israelites with Egypt. We follow Sir G. Wilkinson in concluding that the oppression which led to their Exodus, took place under the victorious XVIIIth dynasty of the old Theban kings, by whom the

Hyk Shos were expelled. The exact date, however, of the Exodus cannot be determined. Sir G. Wilkinson, who formerly (*Anc. Egyp.* vol. i. pp. 78-81) assigned it to the reign of Thothmes III. (cir. 1463 B.C.), is now disposed to place it somewhat later, under Rameses II. Mr. Poole fixes upon 1652 B.C., as the true epoch. But any assignment of the precise year of the event is necessarily precarious, not only from the uncertainty of its place in the Egyptian annals, and the discrepancies of the Biblical chronology in the different systems (the Samar., the Sept., the Heb.), but also from discrepancies in the same system, *e.g.* in the Heb., as seen by comparing 1 Kings vi. 1, Acts xiii. 20, Exodus xii. 40, and Galatians iii. 17. Indeed, it is not till the time of Shishak and Rehoboam that any definite synchronism can be established. Nor will this fact occasion either surprise or uneasiness, except where—the purpose of the inspired writers being wholly misunderstood—it has been forgotten that certainty with respect to the *order* of the history is alone essential. The entire tendency of sound research is towards the verification of the Scripture annals, as in Mr. Poole's abbreviation of the enormous periods which others have given to the Egyptian history, and in his establishment of the coincidence of the Shepherd rule with the peaceful sojourn of the Israelites in Goshen.

NOTE B.—p. 63.

Until the publication of Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, it was generally admitted that the "Mountain of the Law," must be identified either with Jebel Mousa, or with Serbal. Jebel Katarina had been sometimes named as a third claimant, but it was plainly ineligible, for reasons which have been given below. The question lay between the other two, and that it had been decided in favour of Serbal by the early pilgrims to the peninsula, is sufficiently evidenced by the extensive remains of the Christian settlement in Feiran (Burckhardt's *Syria*, p. 609). The same view has

been adopted by many of our recent travellers; among others, by Lepsius (*Letters*, 310, 556), and by Dr. Stewart (*Tent and Khan*, pp. 143-149). But the considerations which Ritter, (*Erdk.* xiv. 736), and Dr. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 219-227) have brought forward, are, I think, overwhelmingly decisive against Serbal, and compel us to seek the sacred mountain in one of the peaks of the Upper Sinai. This was clearly evident to us upon the spot; so that, after having ascended the topmost summit of Serbal, we felt that we had yet to reach, and stand upon, the "holy ground," where Moses received the Divine communications. Our way led us, on the following day, after ascending Nukb Hâwy (note, p. 62), through the plain Er Raheh, into the heart of the inner and upper cluster of the Sinaitic Hills, and we were much impressed, as all who have seen it must have been, with the fitness of that plain for the convention of a large multitude. But, as clearly, it is not fitted for their *encampment;* and we were at once struck with the fact, that, with the exception of one height, El Tlâha, just at the head of the pass, and near the entrance of Er Raheh, there was no marked and towering eminence to be seen in it.—We first ascended Jebel Katarina. It rises high above its neighbour Jebel Mousa, and the view from the summit is even grander than that from Serbal. (Comp. note, p. 72.) But, most plainly, it is not the Mountain of the Law, for the simple reason that in no direction, around, or near it, is there any open, and widely-extended space, such as that by which the real Sinai must have been surrounded. On the following day, we went to the top of Jebel Mousa, and we found it true, as Dr. Robinson and Stanley have stated, that from no accessible point, not even from the roofs of the Christian and Mahometan sanctuaries that stand upon the summit, "is any spot to be seen where the people could have been assembled." Under the same impression, which the above travellers have described, we therefore went at once from this summit to the topmost peak of Ras Sasâfeh, the ascent of which was only to be accomplished barefooted, and, as Dr. Robinson says, "with extreme difficulty, and even danger." There, however, with the plain Er Raheh widely stretching out below us, we believed ourselves to be standing on

the holy place, and yet we felt dissatisfied, since our position was not in any way marked or distinguished from the neighbouring summits, which almost enclose the plain. We, therefore, decided on making a thorough exploration of the Wâdy Es Sebâyeh, on the south-east of Jebel Mousa, which M. Strauss (quoted by Ritter's *Erdk.* xiv. 596-598) had described as answering all the conditions of the ground required for the encampment, and from every part of which, Jebel Mousa, he says, is distinctly visible. And here I give the result of this examination in the following Extract from my Journal:—

This morning we walked to Wâdy Sebâyeh, but with little expectation of the conclusions that were to be forced upon us from our visit. The road leads from the convent across the north-west flank of Menejie, which Lord Lindsay makes out to be Sinai, but which, to us, appeared to be neither high nor marked enough, to meet some of the indispensable conditions which the true Sinai must satisfy. The Wâdy Sebâyeh, for a considerable distance—indeed almost as far as it is laid down in some of the maps, which confound it too early with Wâdy Rahabeh—looks very unpromising, as the scene of Israel's encampment, when the Law was given; and I do not wonder, if Stanley did not pursue his 'afternoon's walk' very far, that he felt it had no claim to be regarded as that scene. It looks altogether too limited; and, at first, one might conclude, that 'from only a few points of it Sinai is visible.' We went on, however, and we were then quite astonished at the scene which opened out before us. The plain widens and enlarges towards the south into a most magnificent area for a much larger encampment than could be placed in Er Raheh. And, from *every* point of it, with the exception of a few inconsiderable depressions beneath recent mounds, Jebel Mousa is grandly visible. This was our impression, after we had walked about one mile towards Rahabeh. That we might be quite sure of it, and especially that we might satisfy ourselves that Abu Aldi, on the south-eastern flank of Jebel Mousa, did *at no point* hide it, we walked to the very end. There we reached Rahabeh, and saw the Turfa range rising majestically from the farther end of that Wâdy. But, at no point, was the view of

Jebel Mousa interrupted. It rose everywhere before us, through the three miles over which Sebâyeh extends, as THE MOUNT. In the broadest part, near the south end, and along a line bearing north-west and south-east, we found the plain was $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles broad. (M. Strauss's dimensions, given by Ritter, *Erdk.* xiv. 596, are somewhat under these.) We could look along it, straight into the Wâdy es Sheikh, a distance of quite ten miles. 'Do you not feel as if —— had been trifling with their readers?' said Mr. A., as these unexpected appearances burst on us. The question expressed exactly my feelings at the moment. The Wâdy meets all the requirements of the scene of the encampment. It is well supplied with water, and is, even now, with its *gently sloping* sides, filled with vegetation. Jebel Mousa is *the* object visible at every part; the spurs from the mountain come down along it on the east side, so as to form a clearly-defined boundary; water is abundant; and there were in our view Arab flocks, and two small encampments of Bedouins established in it about half-way down, and near the end where we entered. A caravan would march into the wâdy along a straight line from Es Sheikh and continue its course into the neighbouring Rahabeh, which is also fitted, along with Sebâyeh, for the erection of tents, and for the pasturage of flocks. There is abundant room in it and in the adjacent wâdys for the Israelites to have been placed as the narrative describes during the giving of the Law; and, after going over the conditions that must have been fulfilled by the actual scene of that event, we came, deliberately and strongly, to the conclusion that it had far greater claims to be received in that character, than Er Raheh; and that the old traditional Sinai was, indeed, no other than the sacred mount. Still we thought it right to go and examine Er Raheh again, though we had seen it so plainly from Sasâfeh yesterday; otherwise we should have been partly falling into what appears to have been Robinson's and Stanley's mistake, in judging of the plain from the mountain, instead of the mountain from the plain. Obviously, the problem is to find a plain from every point of which the mountain is distinctly and impressively visible, not to find a mountain where you can see every one who is standing

on a given space below. We went, accordingly, and traversed Er Raheh from end to end; and we found (1), that it is of smaller superficial extent than Sebâyeh: it is, on the average, one mile broad and it is two miles and three quarters long; (2), that it is not to be compared with Sebâyeh in regard to its approaches, and to the nature of its side boundaries, which are, and always have been, steep, and bare of vegetation; and (3), we were impressed greatly by the fact that at all points of the plain, Sasâfeh stands blended and mingled with almost equal heights. Indeed, at the northern end, El Tlâha is far more impressive, so that Sasâfeh could never be looked upon from Er Raheh as THE Mount. Our conclusion, therefore, was in the strongest manner sustained; and I do not hesitate, therefore, here to record my firm belief that the old traditional Sinai is the very place, if this be known at all, whence the Law was given, and in view of which the people were assembled.—Compare Dr. Stewart's observations (*Tent and Khan*, pp. 134, 152), in which, notwithstanding his arguments in favour of Serbal, he betrays a strong leaning towards the above conclusion.

NOTE C.—pp. 91, 98, 131.

In the autumn of '57, Mr. Cyril Graham explored the country which Mr. Porter described as lying in his range of view from the Castle of Salkhad. (See note, p. 130.) He went some miles along the road which, as Mr. Porter says, "runs straight as an arrow across the plain to Busra on the Persian Gulf." Here he "found a town, with reservoirs, and large buildings, which was probably a station on this road. The road must have been constructed at considerable expense in that portion which passes through the Hárrah (a region extending eastward five days' journey, and which is covered with basaltic stones), as, for many miles, every stone had to be removed; and, considering the distance traversed, and the great breadth of the road, this must have been a work of

great labour." . . . He "had the satisfaction of seeing every one of the (fourteen) towns, which Mr. Porter saw dotted about the plain." He describes them as being built after the same type as the houses in Kureiyeh, of which Mr. Porter (*Damascus*, vol. ii. p. 196) says, "They appear to be just such structures as this race of giants (Rephaim) would rear up. The huge doors and gates of stone, some of which are nearly eighteen inches in thickness, and the ponderous bars, the places for which can still be seen, are in every way characteristic of a period when architecture was in its infancy, when manual labour was of little comparative value, and when strength and security were the great requisites. Time produces but little effect on such buildings as these. The heavy stone flags of the roofs resting on the massive walls, render the whole structure as firm as if built of solid masonry; and the black basalt rock of which they are constructed is nearly as hard as iron." Such was the character of the fourteen towns which Mr. Graham visited, and in connexion with them he justly remarks, "When we find (such) great stone cities (Deut. iii.), walled and unwalled, with stone gates, and so crowded together that it becomes a matter of wonder how all the people could have lived in so small a tract of country; when we see houses built of such huge and massive stones that no force which could ever have been brought against them in that country, would have been sufficient to batter them down; when we find rooms in those houses so large and lofty that many of them would be considered fine rooms in a large house in Europe; and lastly, when we find some of these towns bear the very name which cities in that country bore before the Israelites came out of Egypt, I think we cannot help feeling the strongest conviction that we have before us the cities of the giants (Rephaim), the cities of the land of Moab. They have been gradually deserted as the Arabs of the desert have increased in number, and now, south and east of Salkhad, not one of these many towns is inhabited."

He also reached the Safâh, which is marked as a single hill on most of the maps, but which is, in fact, a long range whereon Mr. Graham counted nineteen peaks, and which, in some parts, is

fifteen miles broad. On the south of this range he found a town built of white stone, "which was the more startling because nowhere near is there any white stone to be found, all the stones in that region being black." Again, on the east, there were four others, "all being alike in style, though inferior in preservation to the old towns of Bashan." In this direction he came to another road cut through the Hárrah, "which probably was the high road leading from Bozra to Palmyra, in the flourishing days of those two great cities. . . . . But the most remarkable fact in connexion with this country is that of finding inscriptions in a character which, whatever it may be, is certainly no recognized form of any Semitic language. Whether or no, we have on these stones traces left by the old giants who occupied this land is, at present, mere matter for speculation; but should these inscriptions some day be decyphered, we may hope to have some light thrown upon the history of a country of which we seem at present to know nothing, and of a people who may have been the earliest emigrants out of Shinar, and the original founders of the cities of the Land of Bashan and of Moab."—*Journ. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxviii.; *Camb. Essays*, 1858. In *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. xvii. part 2, Mr. Graham gives some specimens of these inscriptions, from which it seems there is reason for connecting them with the Himyarites in South Arabia.

Note D.—pp. 104, 143.

These spared communities not only became "snares and traps" unto the people, but their continued presence in the land made the complete establishment of the Jewish polity, and the consequent experience of all its blessings, impossible. That which was in truth its very foundation as a commonwealth, in the secure provision of a competence to all its families, was never realized. Half the tribes did not enter on more than a partial tenure of their inheritance. Now, as the result of this,

the members of those tribes were not placed in the relations of independence, and, in respect of holding landed property, of equality towards their brethren, which their institutions contemplated. In this manner, an impoverished and abject class was originated, of which we have afterwards such fatal traces, and which could never have arisen, had every family in the community been put into full possession of its due share of the common heritage. They do not appear, indeed, to have experienced the worst of these consequences of their neglect for a considerable period. And it is easy to conceive that the immediate wants of the tribes which were not provided for, whose estates allotted to them in theory were, in fact, still occupied by the Canaanites—were in part supplied by their share in the limited spoil which the people were allowed to take, as well as by the wealth which they had brought with them into the country. Moreover, the resources of pasturage around them, would contribute to supply their needs. Yet even thus they could only postpone, for a few generations, that degradation of a large mass of the community, which could never have taken place if every family had been put into actual possession of its estate, after the survey which Joshua ordered. It has been computed that, by the allotment which was then made, about twenty-one acres of freehold land were given to each household; and this should never have been permanently alienated from the posterity of the original holder. Such an inheritance some of the people actually enjoyed. But for nearly as many it was only nominal. And, except their share in the spoil, which, considering its limited amount, and the large number amongst whom it was divided, was necessarily small, they continued as destitute of permanent resources as when they came into the land.

This consequence of their failure in the efforts, demanded of them at this stage of their history, produced results in their after state, in all its internal as well as in its foreign relations, the importance of which can hardly be estimated. But, obviously, by reducing into a state of poverty and dependence large numbers of the people, it hindered their close and compacted union, and hence their formation of that national force, or militia, which

was meant to secure them against invasion. They were thus left continually liable to assaults and aggressions from their neighbours, against which they should have been invulnerable. Then, additional to the national losses and perils thus sustained by them, they were also hindered from carrying into effect another of the most benign and valuable arrangements of their polity. For, the dangerousness of travelling, and the need also of their presence at home to protect their property from the neighbours to whose aggressions they were so exposed, made it impossible for all of them to assemble regularly at the place of their national convention. There are, indeed, traces here and there, that this ordinance was at all times generally observed by themselves and their successors. But, from the nature of their position, this observance could not have been regular and universal. And in consequence of this, they never enjoyed that wide and free interchange of thought, that frequent revival of the sense of union and brotherhood, with all the other blessings of an habitual and happy intercourse, which would have resulted from their constant pilgrimages to the central pavilion of the nation.

This was a serious loss, and the calamitous results of it are manifest in all their after history. And it was closely connected with another of equal, if not of more fatal, consequence. For again, and from the same reason, the Levitical institute never held its designed place and power in the midst of them. . . . Its members were to pervade the entire community. The cities of this tribe were to be placed amidst those of all the others. By this universal presence they were to become witnesses to all their brethren of the interests, and privileges, and hopes of the land of Israel, and of the distinctions which had been conferred on it. Thus, as a compacting element holding its materials together, they were to pervade the entire nation. And, besides this silent efficacy of their presence, they were also to engage actively in communicating everywhere religious and moral instruction, and in diffusing influences of liberality and enlightenment. Their duties at the central sanctuary would not detain them there for more than a small (a sixth) portion of each year, and the remainder of

their time, since no secular toils or cares devolved on them, was to be employed in works that tended to raise and refine the minds of those amongst whom they lived. They were specially qualified for this purpose by their frequent intercourse with the chiefs of the nation at the sanctuary, as well as by their own superior attainments. And they would, too, be much aided in fulfilling it by the position of influence which they occupied, for they were the physicians of the community, and the interpreters of its statutes. Its sanitary regulations were under their control. In the central court of judicature—where any matters of local controversy "too hard for judgment" at the scene of their occurrence, were decided—some of them were the assessors of the court. They were, likewise, in the local sessions, associated with the elders of each city, to aid in the decision of questions which were there brought forward. They were, besides, guardians of the cities which were appointed as temporary asylums, in which the homicide might find refuge. All this official importance might have helped to enforce their religious testimony, and to confirm the moral influence which it was their chief office to maintain. . . .

Of the forty-eight cities, however, which were allotted to the Levites, only a few were actually taken possession of by the members of that tribe. They never, accordingly, exercised all their designed influence, as a compacting element, amongst their brethren. The emanations of light and knowledge which should have proceeded from them were never known in nearly the fulness of their power. While the institution of their order was undoubtedly one of the most valuable provisions of the Hebrew polity, it never, in fact, exercised its designed influence; its genuine advantages were almost wholly lost. . . . Thus the Israelites failed to realize the chief blessings of that Divine constitution which would have made their nation the model to all others of a community free, and prosperous, and enlightened.—*Scripture Studies*, pp. 135–138, 109.

Note E.—pp. 337, 351, 375.

With respect to what has been called the "conserved portions of the ancient city," I will take leave to repeat here some portions of an article entitled "Subterranean Jerusalem," which I published about two years since in the *Christian Observer*.—By the nether or subterranean Jerusalem we here mean that region of the ancient capital which, however familiar to them, always lay hidden from the busy and agitated crowds who lived, and moved, and had their eventful being in it during the remote eras of Jewish history. The spaces we are speaking of lie under the thick deposit which the great inundations of violence that have swept over the city from time to time have left upon its surface. How deep these architectural sediments or strata are, and what ponderous heaps, especially on the slopes of the city hills and at their feet, must be cleared away before we can look on the virgin site, in outline and proportions as it was seen by Abraham, for example, as he passed it, "journeying towards the south"—may be imagined, when one remembers that at least seven cities have succeeded one another, and been overthrown, upon that surface. Nor are we, as will be hereafter shown, without the means of estimating the amount of this superincumbency and the rate of its accumulation. They are the excavated spaces and structures underneath it of which we are now speaking, which have not only been comparatively untouched during the greater part of the surface upturnings, but have, in fact, been protected and conserved by means of them. How this has happened will be evident if, assuming the existence of such a nether region, from the time of Solomon onward, we bear in mind that every successive demolition of the civic structures, of the temple and palaces, of the porticoes and colonnades, would, either by filling up these under-spaces or by covering them, render their ruin impossible; the heaps of masonry, broken and overturned, would guard them from the ploughshare of destruction; and then, after the fragments left in each former havoc were raised and used afresh, these substructures would continue

in the main unchanged, and would so continue, while the ground above was gradually thickening by the successive layers that were deposited by the ravages which, through one generation after another, were going forward on the surface.

Now, that there were such regions, and that they had been continually enlarging until the nether Jerusalem of New Testament times was of considerable extent, we know from the clear testimony of Josephus, to say nothing of earlier intimations; and this testimony is given, not only in explicit statement, but, by implication, in the details of his narrative. His description of the Temple court in the *War* (v. 5, 1), illustrated by the fuller, exacter account in his *Antiquities* (xv. 11, 3), discloses the existence of a vast subterranean space in the south-east corner of the enclosure. Again, in the latter work (xv. 11, 7), he speaks of "a hidden passage which led from Antonia to the inner temple at its eastern gate . . . . that Herod might have the opportunity for a subterranean ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings." He tells us, moreover, at the conclusion of the *War* (vii. 2, 2), that Simon, with some of his associates, descended "into one of the secret caverns, and advanced through it as far as *the ancient excavations* permitted," with the view of effecting an escape through them into the country. They were foiled in this endeavour; and were obliged to return, coming up like apparitions from those unknown depths, to the great terror of the Roman soldiers on guard, upon whose superstition they took advantage to practise by this means. Tacitus, in his brief allusion to the city (Hist. v. 12), speaks of its "*cavati sub terrâ montes*;" and one may discern them, too, in the account of the hindrances which Julian met with in his attempt to falsify the Christian prophecies by rebuilding the ancient temple. Inflammable gases, accumulated in such subterranean chambers and galleries, would, in part at least, account for the phenomena which Ammianus (Hist. xxiii. 1) has related in connection with that enterprise. Other intimations have from time to time been given respecting these dim recesses; and, from the visit of Maundrell in the seventeenth century, who obtained a hasty glimpse

of the El Aksa vaults, strange rumours have prevailed respecting them. But such was the jealousy of the Mahommedan guardians of the city, and their resentment of any attempt to intrude into its secret places, that, until about forty years ago, this nether Jerusalem was supposed to be quite out of reach; and it was neglected, consequently, in the earnestness of each traveller's examination of whatever was at hand, palpable and accessible upon the surface.

It was in 1818 that, for the first time in modern days, the attention of residents and visitors was distinctly called to this interesting subject. In that year, Dr. Richardson and about twelve years afterwards, Catherwood, obtained knowledge of this hidden region which strongly excited the curiosity of every one who heard of it. Others, especially Walcott and Tipping, made additional discoveries of considerable importance; but all that was previously known, or surmised, of this interesting region is now described, for the first time clearly and authentically, by Dr. Barclay;[1] and so much of new discovery in addition has been effected and detailed by him, that undoubtedly he holds the chief place amongst the unfolders of the ancient city. He has brought out the whole of this mysterious region, so far as it is at present known, distinctly into one view; and he has done this, with such graphic clearness and such unquestionable accuracy, that henceforth, every intelligent visitor to "the city of the Great King" will have two distinct objects before him in his pilgrimage:—the city itself, standing on the deposits of its seven predecessors, with the valleys and plains and the everlasting hills that are, unchanged, around it; and underneath, distinct and quite apart from all these objects, another region, secure, and providentially guarded from all polluting, humiliating contact, where one is in immediate communion with the expressed mind and character of the ancient people,—where, in language with which no one can have tampered, we can read their thoughts and purposes, their own estimate of their mission in the world, and their views of their great heritage in future time.

[1] In his *City of the Great King*, Trübner, Paternoster Row.

We have repeatedly used the designation "nether Jerusalem," to describe this region, since it is that which Dr. Barclay employs for the heading of that part of his work which contains his information respecting it. He begins by giving an account of two long passages, which appear to have led from the interior of the city, outside, to a distance of about four miles into the country; and of another, which opens into the Kedron valley from Bezetha. He explored all three of them partially; as far, *i. e.* as the heaps of fallen rubbish choking them would allow him to proceed. He intimates no doubt of the accuracy of the reports concerning their extent; and, in addition to his own observations, one may remark an "evidence of congruity" between what he has discovered in this instance, and certain statements in Josephus' *War*, which bear significantly upon our subject. It appears from the historian's narrative that, even after Titus had built his wall round the city, the besieged must still have had some communication with the country. After every needful allowance has been made from Josephus' exaggeration of their numbers, it remains certain that, for obtaining food, and for the interment of their dead in those summer months, they must have had such hidden means of exit as these long passages would furnish. The discovery, and the exploration of them, therefore, so far as it has been effected, verifies to this extent the historian's narrative; and now, his testimony, since it has been so far, unexpectedly, we may say, confirmed, may well be used as a motive and reason, additional to those which led Dr. Barclay to begin this enterprise, for carrying it energetically forward whenever there is an opportunity to do so. Let those passages then be cleared and searched, and can we doubt that treasures of inestimable value will reward the labours of the explorer, as he gropes and burrows in their deep recesses, even though he should fail in making his way through the whole of their extent?

But, coming now to the instances in which complete success has been attained, we will begin with the immense cavern which extends beneath the greater part of the north-east corner of the city. The sudden disappearance of his dog through a long narrow hole under the outer wall near the Damascus gate,

gave Dr. Barclay the first hint of the existence of this vast excavation; but the difficulties and perils, especially from the jealousy of the Mohammedan authorities, of exploring it, hindered him for a while from making the attempt. Soon afterwards, however, it happened that he had a visit from the Nazir Effendi, "a State-Church dignitary only a few grades below the Pasha," and he, "admiring the fine view from the terrace of our house, remarked that ancient Jerusalem was several strata below the superficies of the present city; and that it would be interesting to explore the magnificent subterranean remains of the gorgeous places of King David, Solomon, and various other monarchs of former times, could an entrance but be effected." *Apropos* of this remark, Dr. Barclay asked of the Effendi permission to attempt an entrance into the cave which had so excited his curiosity. This was given; and the work being accomplished with fewer difficulties than they had counted on, they found themselves in an immense cavern, of about two acres in extent, which stretches in a south-easterly direction beneath the greater part of the intramural portion of Bezetha, on which that northern quarter of Jerusalem is built. They found, in fact, that they had entered the very quarry out of which the stones were excavated for the building of the temple: as was evident from these circumstances—first, that the excavation had been made for building purposes; second, that the detached blocks, of whose form and size clear traces were left in the places from which they were dug, perfectly corresponded in shape and material with those remnants of the old temple which are still standing in the Jews' place of wailing, and at the south-east corner of the Haram; and thirdly, from the manifest evidence that the stones, taken from the quarry, were also *dressed* there, as was the case, we know, with those used in "the building of God's house, which was built *of stone made ready before it was brought thither*, so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building."—"What untold toil was represented by the vast piles of blocks and chippings over which we had to clamber in making our exploration! . . . . For centuries these interminable halls had resounded to the busy din of the

hammer and the chisel." Some of the blocks are only partially detached; they are left as if the mason would return, in an hour or two, to complete his work; the marks of his chisel are discernible on all sides upon the walls; the broken pottery of his drinking vessels lies strewn upon the ground. Whoever enters that quarry is there brought into immediate contact with the industrial activity and enterprise of the remotest eras of Jewish history; and the impression produced by it is greatly deepened, or, we may say, literally doubled, on finding that this spacious cavern, more than 600 feet long and 125 broad, and on an average about eight feet high, was originally continuous with the cave long known as the grotto of Jeremiah in the extramural portion of Bezetha. The road which now passes between them, marks a "cutting" of the hill that was necessary for the erection of the "second wall," which must, whatever supposition be taken concerning its remaining course, have surrounded the city in this direction. When one thinks of the hugeness of this mass of limestone, broken up and squared into blocks, such as those which are still visible in the ancient portions of the wall, the most vivid impression of the splendour and massiveness of the structures that adorned the city is produced; and one gets also, since of these structures so small a portion is remaining, some conception of the thickness of those strata of chaotic ruins which cover the native rock, and fill and choke the ravines that, as we know, lay deep between the hills of the ancient city.

More, however, of these Cyclopean masses are still extant, fixed and visible in their ancient places, than meet the eye of the surface explorer of the city. They are found now where they stood originally, built into those vast and huge substructures under the south-east corner of the Haram enclosure; and again, further westward, under the mosque El Aksa. Here, in the opposite extremity of the same (the eastern) side of the city, another portion of the nether Jerusalem is opened; and, though portions of it had been visited before, by Catherwood and others, Dr. Barclay is the first who has enjoyed an opportunity for that leisurely survey and inquiry, which was needful to make his "views" of such a place perfectly reliable. Under the circum-

stances of his admission within the sacred precincts, he was enabled to examine these under-halls and galleries most minutely; and he has so detailed and pictured the results of his investigation, that this portion of the ancient city may in truth be *seen* by a reader of his volume. Here we have authentic specimens, especially in the lofty pillars which support the arched roofs of the largest of these halls, of the style and massiveness of those erections, for which the Bezethan quarry furnished the materials. These halls extend over more than an acre of ground; the pillars that support the roof are, including those built into the walls, more than one hundred in number, and some are 35 feet high. But of the walls that close them to the west and north, some are evidently modern; and, as we have been told, they betray, when struck, the existence of spaces unoccupied that lie beyond them. What wonders are now concealed there, we know not, nor does any one now living, since even the guardians of the mosque are not aware of their existence. Further to the west are the vaults beneath El Aksa; which are, however, far less spacious, their area not much exceeding a quarter of an acre. Moreover, in them the characteristic masonry of the Jewish era is more freely mixed with shafts and capitals of later date. But, here, again, there are indications of vacant spaces that have, in comparatively modern times, been walled up; the hollow echoes that answer, at so many points, to blows upon the sides of these long galleries, here, likewise, give forth that utterance which sounds like an expostulation with the nations of Christendom for their apathy in neglecting mines of knowledge, with which, most probably, the treasured excavations of Nineveh and Egypt will hardly bear comparison.

But we must now pass on to the remarkable spaces and passages far beneath the surface of the present city, which have been explored in consequence of suggestions respecting the water supply of Jerusalem in ancient times. It has often been remarked that, in the many sieges to which the inhabitants have been subjected, they have hardly ever—once only, we believe,—been described as suffering from thirst. Deep-seated aqueducts, so far below the surface, and running in

such directions as to escape the search of besiegers, and subterranean reservoirs, with fountains also of "living water," have consequently been looked for in explanation of this fact. These researches have resulted in two great discoveries, which have further enlarged our acquaintance with the subterranean regions of the ancient city. Of these, the first is wholly due to Dr. Barclay, and is best related in his own words:—

"During our exploration of the Haram enclosure we observed, on removing a half-buried marble capital on one occasion, a rude subterranean passage leading to a long flight of steps. The Effendi immediately despatched some of the workmen for flambeaux, and prepared for a thorough exploration. Descending a broad flight of forty-four wide steps cut in the native rock—but so worn in some places as to have required partial recutting, a few centuries ago, to all appearance—we reached a beautiful sheet of water. The Effendi mounted the shoulders of a Fellah, and seemed to navigate the waters very pleasantly; while my sons and self spent our time, certainly as pleasantly, in wading through its rude but venerable halls, and making an accurate ground plan of it. . . . . We afterwards spent a good portion of another day in its dark nether regions, completing and verifying the plan, taking other measurements, and making an accurate sketch, that here figured [in the book], a few minutes' inspection of which will convey a better idea of this long-lost place than many pages of written explanation. . . . . This sheet of water is, without doubt, 'the sea' of which the Son of Sirach and the Commissioner of King Ptolemy speak in such rapturous terms (Eccles. i. 3). It is now, however, quite a rude piece of work—the massive metal-covered pillars having given place to ill-shaped piers, apparently of unhewn rocks, badly plastered; the rapacity of some of the various spoilers of the devoted city . . . . having left it minus the lead or brass with which it was formerly encased. It is 736 feet in circuit, and 42 in depth: and, according to the best estimate I could make, its capacity falls but little short of 2,000,000 of gallons. . . . We discovered no fountain in connexion with it, nor did we find the entrance of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools, which we

were told by one of the old keepers, who had formerly visited this subterranean lake, enters it on the west. . . . . It formerly had eight apertures above, through which the water was drawn up; but only one remains open at this time."—(Pp. 525–527.)

The other discovery we have alluded to was effected by the cool intrepidity of Mr. Walcott, an American missionary, in the year 1842. Rumours having reached him of passages opening out from the bottom of a well, just outside the western wall of the Haram, he determined to descend and investigate them. Having been lowered down eighty feet by some of the Fellahs,—"who would, without doubt, have let the rope slip and left their employer to his fate on the slightest alarm,"—he found himself opposite a vaulted room, eighteen feet long and fourteen feet wide. Eleven feet further down he came to "a passage . . ." varying in width from one and a half to several feet, which leads from the south side of the well, and is, for fifteen or twenty feet, arched over with rocks, the arches being of very good workmanship." This passage extends for about one hundred feet to a reservoir, which, as far as can be judged, is twenty feet long, at the further end of which the ceiling declines, until it comes in contact with the water, and closes in the prospect. Mr. Walcott's compass having been broken in his adventurous descent, the bearings of the room, and of the passage below it, could only be conjectured by him. Dr. Barclay, however, who was the next to investigate the place minutely, indeed the only other person who has done so, found that the room lies due north, and that the long passage, which he also was unable to trace further than Mr. Walcott had done, on account of the same cause, bears S.S.E. This excavation, consequently, is independent of those which are conjectured to lie still unknown under the Haram enclosure. Both the room and the passage, he says, have been repaired with fragments of marble columns, "the profuse use of which for such common purposes indicates that part of this structure was subsequent to one of Jerusalem's sad overthrows—perhaps after the return from Babylon." Here, then, we have, in another direction, ninety feet below the surface, large spaces of the nether

Jerusalem accessible—spaces conserved, unthought of, for generations, where no one has had opportunity or motive to revise the expressions of themselves which have been given by those men whose mind and character and whose thoughts we desire to know, that, by means thereof, we may gain a deeper insight into far more important knowledge.

The amount of help towards that higher knowledge which has been furnished by these underground discoveries, is already, it will be seen, considerable; and suggests conclusions of such importance as to make it well deserving of close attention. When we place in one view those spaces of the passages first named which have actually been traversed, the extensive area of the quarry in Bezetha, the S.E. substructures of the Haram platform, the vaults beneath El Aksa, the caverned reservoir in the sacred precincts, the chamber and passages beneath the well,—it will be seen that several acres of the old city, such as it was in the remotest times, are now accessible. And let it be remembered, thus much has come to view quite recently, by favourable accident, as the result of endeavours carried forward secretly, and by individual and *manual* exertions. But let us suppose that zeal, such as has been thus shown, were allowed to exert itself, in the directions indicated by our zealous explorers, freely, under the sanction of the ruling powers of Jerusalem, and with the mechanical aids of engineering science—who can conjecture what treasures would then be brought to view! Even, however, without such liberty of "free inquiry," and supposing the Christian governments of Europe and America have not courage to urge a claim which surely would be irresistible if jointly urged by some of them; yet, without this, a great enlargement of the knowledge pursued and already won, under such great difficulties, may now be reasonably looked for. Admission, under certain conditions and for a few hours, into the Haram enclosure, was most unexpectedly conceded by the late Pasha, and will doubtless be renewed by his successor; and this may well introduce the permission to open those modern walls in the vaults beneath El Aksa, and in the S.E. substructures of the Haram, beyond which there are undoubtedly spaces that extend no one can say whither,

or how far. And on what treasures of sacred archæology they may stumble who first enter those untrodden regions, no one can imagine! Again, there are now definite objects lying within narrow limits for the efforts of Dr. Barclay, and of men like-minded with him, who may be favoured as he was. Our restored confidence in the statements of Josephus, so far at least as they relate to the structures of the city, assures us that, underneath the Haram platform, there are certainly two passages which have not yet been entered;—one leading from the site (now well known) of the Antonia tower to an inner temple gate; the other, that spacious drain through which the blood and offal flowed from the altar. We may connect with these passages the vacant space which—*audibly*, as in the other instances—betrays itself N.W. of the room under the rock of the Sakkrah, and the well or cavern which is beneath the floor of that apartment. Or, it may be, that these may prove to be *distinct* objects for archæological inquiry. Here, at all events, are definite points, within narrow limits, which are inviting the renewed application and efforts of that zeal which has already been productive of such invaluable results. And undoubtedly any one of those favouring opportunities which have so far, and so unexpectedly, increased our knowledge of the subterranean Jerusalem, the good fortune and the enterprise that have already done so much—may, at any time, and without the formal intervention of the Christian governments, extend this knowledge, and be rewarded by discoveries as large and valuable, at the least, as those of which we have already gained possession.

Nor is this all. The same favour, and enterprise, and similar co-operative accidents, may also be expected to take effect in the far easier work of bringing to light some of those treasures of fossil history that must still be conserved in those thick strata which cover the rocks, and fill and choke the ravines of the city as it was in the earlier ages of its existence. And thus, while we are getting into closer intimacy with Jewish mind and character, as expressed in these basement works, we may learn also more of the outward, the social, busy, and agitated life which stirred and strove, aboveground, in the streets and homes and palaces, in the

synagogues, and in the temple of Jerusalem. It is computed that the *average depth* of this superjacent soil, the *débris* of the earlier cities, is not less than forty feet. This is the estimate of Dr. Rothe, of Munich, who has been for some years resident in Palestine, in the character of agent, for scientific purposes, of the Bavarian Government. And that he has not given an excessive estimate of the thickness of this soil, richly teeming as it is throughout with historical mementoes, is manifest, from two facts which cannot have escaped the most unobservant amongst the crowds who have lately visited the city. Underneath the church and convent of St. John—which is just opposite the chief European hotel—and twenty-five feet below its present ground level (which is the same as that of the adjacent street), is another church, of the date of the Crusades, whereof the windows, in the walls and opposite the door, show that it was then used and open for worship, on the general level of the city ground. The twenty-five feet of *débris*, under which it is now buried, is, therefore, the accumulation of the last 700 years. Again, the Austrian hospital, which is now in course of erection in the Via Dolorosa, near the Damascus gate, is partially raised on solid ancient vaults, whose *roofs* are nearly fifty feet below the present surface of the street. The first of these buildings is low down on the east slope of Akra, and the other stands in the valley that leads up northward in continuation of the Tyropœon ; and, of course, in the natural subsidence of the ruins, as "the stones were poured down from the head of every street," the accumulation would be deepest at such points. These instances, however, prove unquestionably that the above estimate of the average depths through which the archæologist must sink his shaft, in mining for the treasures of which he is in quest, is not greatly in excess.

Now from this vast and rich and promising field, the countrymen of Layard and of Marriette cannot much longer be debarred. Surely more valuable treasures than those they have brought to light at Nineveh, or more recently (by Mariette) at Memphis, are accessible within this ground. And, meanwhile, until that freedom, which cannot much longer be withheld, is granted and diligently used, the erection of every new building, with all the

necessary delving and trenching for a sufficient foundation on such a soil, is an opportunity which zealous investigators like Dr. Barclay will not fail in turning to account, and from which their success, in regions far more difficult and more unpromising, may well justify us in entertaining the most sanguine expectations.

Still let us remember, if these expectations should be realized, and all the successes we have spoken of, in these, and in the nether regions of the old city, should be attained, they will not show us more than the discoveries which have actually been made have already shown us,—though they may deepen and intensify the impression conveyed by them,—of the strength of nature and force of will, and belief in a great destiny, and claim of large possessions in future time, which are now disclosed as the characteristics of the men who wrought in those hidden places that have been so strangely brought to light. We have already in hand materials for judging of them, as those of our posterity will judge of us who shall hereafter look to our underground achievements, to the tunnels of our railways, to our dock cellarage, to the aqueducts and cloacæ beneath our streets. From such materials the staple of the race, its forecast as to its tenure of the soil, its energy, and its law and style of work, may be inferred. And assuredly that spacious quarry was wrought, those passages were bored and vaulted, those enormous substructures, with their colossal pillars, were upreared by men of strong natures, of stedfast energy, and of inexorable resolution. If no fragment of their history had survived, we must have inferred from their works such characteristics of the men who raised them. We should then have said that they must have built in the belief that they had an inalienable heritage upon their ground; and that sagacity, valour, enterprise, and capacity for arduous toil, would be stamped on every page of their history, had it only come into our possession. So again, from the pages of Scripture and from Josephus, we might have inferred that just in this style, or on this scale, must the men they spoke of have planned and toiled, supposing the works themselves to be still either hidden or destroyed. There is a perfect congruity, in fact, between the structures and the record; between what

we see the Jews have done, and what we have been told of the characteristics of their nature, and of their consciousness in regard to their place and mission in the world. And, presenting itself at this time, one need hardly say how important is the use which this manifested congruity subserves, and how, when there is a special need of the human life, upon and around those hills, coming forth, authentic and substantial, before our view, in order that the *historical reality* of the sacred narrative should be impressed on us, —this opened congruity has served that purpose, and helped us to look on the men and the occurrences of those distant times as not less true and living than the human realities that are now around ourselves. This is our present need; and these adventurous researches, down below the Jerusalem that meets the eye, have, we may say, divinely met it.

When the time comes in which we shall require, and are prepared for, more copious knowledge, for a closer and more intimate vision of the struggling agitated life, and of the eventful times of the ancient city,—that knowledge also will be given, and everything which now lies conserved there "for our instruction, rebuke, and establishment" in the truth, will be made known. And yet one can hardly help feeling that this will not be until the law of retribution has been again signally administered and executed,—until the waves of another deluge of ruin have left a ninth deposit upon that fated ground. It is hoping against hope to think otherwise. At that time, however, if not before, when the ruined masses, the broken columns, and the huge and shattered blocks which now lie thick upon those hills, are swept away, and the Jerusalem of a better age shall arise—the testimony we look forward to will be proclaimed; "truth will spring from the earth," and the very "stones of Zion will cry out," against those who have shut their ears against the utterances of the voice of God.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL.

THE following brief and fragmentary Extracts from my Journal are here appended, chiefly with the view of illustrating some of the points brought forward in the preceding pages, though, in one or two instances, I have had the further purpose of mentioning circumstances which, as far as I know, have not been noticed in the works of Eastern travellers.

LAND OF THE PATRIARCHS.

Leaving Wâdy Abeyad (April 14th), we reached Wâdy Ruhaibeh in two hours. There is enough probability in Robinson's conjecture that this was the Rehoboth of Isaac, to make the place specially interesting. The heat became unbearably intense as we left the wady, which we found to be wider and longer than it is marked on the maps. . . . . Horses, asses, ploughed ground, Arab "tent-villages" (חַוֹּת, still called Chavvoth, Joshua xiii. 30), cultivation, in all forms, stealing in, have, at every step to-day, reminded us that we are passing out of the desert, and are just on the boundaries of Palestine. . . .

Here (at Beersheba) the desert shrubs are now all left behind, and we come every hour on new sights and sounds, telling us that we are *in* Palestine, and approaching the upper part of the "south country." It was curious to meet well-dressed women riding on asses, and in one instance guarded, just as Sarah might have been here, when she went forth. We thought of

Abraham's great achievement of self-devotion when he went hence "to one of the mountains that I will tell thee of," and of Jacob's feelings when he stopped in this very place to offer sacrifices on his way to Egypt. Of what a memorable scene in his early history did he, with shame and anguish, remind himself as he looked round upon those hills. . . . Through a long, winding pass, singularly beautiful with its living green, and with beds of golden flowers in the middle of it, we came to Dhoherîyeh. Our tents are pitched in the midst of the first group of Syrians we have seen. They are noble-looking men, and the children are strangely beautiful. . . . .

Now we are in the "hill country of Judea." Naked gray rocks, here and there covered with rich verdure, and swelling and rounded in their outlines, surround us on all sides. There are no roads. Our path, bordered by a profusion of beautiful flowers, is nothing but a stony track whereon our poor beasts stumble along in a fashion which, for some time, makes the unaccustomed Syrian traveller quite nervous. Terrace cultivation on all sides (Newman's *Turks*, 156, 157); gardens, vineyards, and frequent wells, were the objects everywhere around us until within an hour of Hebron. . . . The Jewish burying-ground is just outside the city, and is, of course, extensive, as Hebron is one of the four sacred places in which the pious Hebrews desire to lay their bones. But, at first, the huge slabs upon the graves looked as if they had been placed there accidentally. This I almost thought, until I came upon some Hebrew inscriptions, and (strange sight!) found near them an old man superintending the carving and painting of his own epitaph in the place where, as he said, he expected to be laid very shortly. While we were conversing with him, a returning funeral procession passed by us, and we noticed that as each left the ground, he cast over his shoulders and behind him a stone, or handful of grass, in token that the brother whom they had just buried, had ceased to have any interest in the earth and its affairs. Underneath the cemetery, was a large group of women and children in white, keeping the Passover.

May 1st.—We are going (on the way from Hebron to Petra) to the Jehalîn camp, which is seven hours distant, and where we shall pass the night. Our journey leads through a land well cultivated almost as far as the camp, and we pass by Ziph, and Carmel, and Maon. The whole scene of David and Nabal's story is around us, almost unchanged. Suddenly, while we pause at a well, our sheikh, the cousin of the great Sheikh of the Jehalîn, throws himself off his horse, and there, in the presence of us, and of the shepherds round the well, goes through his devotions with as much exactness and zeal as if he had been alone in his own chamber, "with his window open" towards Mecca. . . . . It was about 5 P.M. when in the distance we descried, in waving and black lines, the tents of the encampment where we were to pass the night! A sad scene it seemed of naked squalor, and of noisy degradation, when we came into the midst of it. But the patriarchal encampments were not like this! . . . . .

Early this morning (May 10th), while we were at breakfast, the Dhullam people, who had just broken up their camp, marched past us. I suppose the sight, from the camels with the heavier baggage and the sheikh on horseback, down to the poor woman who went last, with her child astride upon her shoulder, and driving painfully her reluctant ass with all her chattels on his back, was as perfect a living picture as could be given of the passage of the journeying Hebrews from one station to another. . . . Stopping this time on our return, *near* the Jehalîn encampment, the great sheikh himself, Abu Dahûk, a large, broad, comely-looking man, came to greet us on our return. We offered him some refreshments, but it was Ramadhan; and, pointing to the sun, he signified that he could not take anything till it had set. He is a great man in this part of the desert—greater than Abraham was—for he can, in any emergency such as the rescuing of a nephew, command the services of 1,000 armed men. . . . . Again we felt the comfort and beauty of the transition from the desert to cultivated land. Maon, and Carmel, and Ziph, with all their reproduction of the life of David, were again before us. But the ten days which had elapsed since we were before in this

neighbourhood, had "dropped fatness upon the pastures of the wilderness, and made the little hills," all over their terraces of cultivation, "rejoice on every side;" had "covered the valleys over with corn," just as when they suggested, in this very place, the grateful song of David, whose language perfectly described their aspect as we beheld them. Even those gray hills seemed "to shout for joy and sing." "The pastures," too, "were clothed with flocks," and altogether it was as bright, and fruitful, and rejoicing a scene as we ever looked on. The fig, and olive, and pomegranate trees, were in their full verdure, especially in one nook on the left hand, as we descended the sheets of naked rock just at the entrance of the city, making there, with the *bright* gray of the hills above them, a strange, and yet most beautiful effect.

GOSHEN, AND THE VALLEY OF THE NILE.

Strange, indeed, to unaccustomed Western eyes, was the country we passed through (from Alexandria to Cairo). The wide-stretching, shallow lake; the naked labourers; the camels in the fields; the long, rectangular rills of water; the square mud heaps, which are the houses of the villagers; the flocks of birds; the intense green of the fields, which were in rich culture; the unmitigated glare, for hardly a tree was to be seen; the earth, not "iron," certainly, though above it was a "sky of brass:" all this was so strange, that one lived through many days in the course of that few hours' journey. Arab houses are simply squares of mud, without window or chimney, or anything, except the half-naked figures at the door, to mark them as human dwellings. Robert Stephenson, whom I saw on board his yacht, told me that, in making the railway, they had to cut through many mounds, on which, here in the Delta, the Arab villages are built; and, in some instances, they found in them from fifteen to twenty strata of pottery, marking the sites of as many successive villages, as he believed. . . .

It is indeed a trial of obedience to the Christian law,—"Honour all men"—which one experiences on seeing an Arab village for the first time. In that Christ dignified our human nature, by

taking it upon Himself, and when and where He did, we have the great reason for not yielding to that temptation to contemn and despise men which one feels so strongly here. And how one who does not acknowledge the sacredness of this Christmas season can resist that temptation, I do not understand. . . .

Suddenly, the Pyramids came in sight, or rather two of them did, (the third was hidden)—looking, in the position where I viewed them, like an inverted W. So calmly, although decisively, did they present themselves in their clear firm outlines, strongly marked against the sky, that I did not feel moved, but quietly, and with reverence, acknowledged their presence as a fact not to be gainsayed. They shew themselves, as if in silent vindication of the trust on which hitherto you have believed in their existence. I think it has been happily said of them, that they stand there, the signature of humanity: "Man, his mark," set against the sky. . . . . Looking (from the citadel of Cairo) beyond the brown city—brown, kindled by the setting sun in many places into bright lilac hues—you see the Nile, and two groups of pyramids, and the Libyan hills, and, beyond these, you imagine the far-stretching desert. All the emotions of sublimity that mere size, and magnitude, and vast extent, can give, are awakened powerfully by the scene. But you feel no other emotion, you are in no way kindled and inspired by the sight. I must confess I was not, until I remembered that, putting Cairo out of sight, and thinking only of what is on the other side of the river, the view before us was nearly the same as that on which the Israelites settled near Memphis habitually looked. The great objects, just in the same order in which we were looking on them, were the same: the river, and the Pyramids, and the hills beyond; the roofs, and towers, and colossi of Memphis, must, of course, be added to complete *their* picture. . . . .

Miss Martineau is hardly so reliable as usual, in her account of Beni Hassan. She speaks of nine of the caves as "noteworthy," and of there being thirty in all. The greater part of her "thirty"—and I examined every one—are mere niches; and of the "noteworthy" nine, I could only find four, as Wilkinson also says, that are deserving of attention. But these four were

interesting beyond measure. We see in them the very life of Joseph and his contemporaries. Here are some particulars of it, additional to the common descriptions, that most struck me; —the corn magazines; the decrepit herdsmen; the barber; the games at ball; the glass-blowing; the cages of birds; the fishing; the richly-ornamented vaulting of the roof; the two children in the ass panniers in the procession which is often taken for that of Joseph's brethren; the rope-making, in which the men were weaving or binding the strands, as they do on a rope-walk now; the models, or pictures, of the houses; the men with baskets on their backs, going up the steps of, apparently, a magazine; the vintage; the scribes taking the inventory of the "goods;" and the three colossal figures, in the recess at the end of the most northerly of the group. Nor must I omit to mention the skill of the painter, and his taste, in arranging all the miscellaneous figures, in their long rows upon the wall, so as, in the *tout ensemble*, to be most pleasing to the eye. Here and there they were broken in by long lines of hieroglyphics, and by a colossal figure of the owner of the tomb, engaged in various sports. It was, indeed, a great opportunity thus to live in the very midst of the society that surrounded Joseph, through these few hours. . . . . In the "tombs of the pyramids," which are of the same period, we saw two "tables of shewbread" in presence of a deity; and amongst the remaining objects, described by Wilkinson, we were chiefly struck by the detailed representation of a naval fight, carried on in boats like those now on the Nile. There were several figures of scribes taking an inventory of somebody's property in flocks and herds. The animals were carefully sculptured, but many of the other figures were quite rude.

March 13th.—All through the first sixteen miles of our journey from Bissatîn to Suez, we seemed to be going along the bed of an ancient river. If it was a river, it could not have been far from the coast line of the sea, for we soon came on endless layers and heaps of oyster-shells. The quantity in which they

are found is quite immense. Going on, we had our last view of the Pyramids, which never seemed, in a distant view, so majestic as now, when their summits rose high in the remote distance above an intervening hill. Towards the close of our day's journey, about twelve miles from Bissatîn, we came on traces, in an abundance of petrified trunks of trees and logs of wood, of an ancient forest. How strangely different must this country, now a dry and weary desert, have appeared when that forest stood here on the river bank, or marine creek, which then evidently flowed through this very spot! Our road was whitened by innumerable shells, which we at first took to be an additional indication of the water that anciently flowed upon this bed; but we found afterwards they were the bleached shells of the desert snail. All the hills which have lined our course on either side are the square, flat, tabulated hills we had grown so accustomed to upon the Nile, and the same is the character, as I understand, of those lining the wilderness track on the other side of the Red Sea. . . . March 14th.—We came on traces of volcanic action in fragments of porphyry covering the hills, and giving a rich purple hue to them in the distance; and at the end of our day's journey, we saw the same traces in the crystallized limestone on the Jebel Reibûn, and on some elevations, about seven, like it in shape and dimensions, on either side. At Gandely, there are two or three wells, but the water in them is bitter. Around the Jebel Reibûn, about a mile from which we encamped, the desert expanded into a wider area than we had seen before; which fact, perhaps, originated the tradition that it was on this mountain, while he was debating whether he should go along our course by the Wady Ramlieh, or in a north-easterly direction, by the Wady Lithali, that Moses received the command, "Turn and encamp," &c., so leading him along the former of the two roads, which will be our route on Monday.

Our journey to-day (March 16th) carried us along the Wady et Tîh and the Wady Ramlieh, and first through a long

pass in the range of hills we had seen yesterday to the east of our prospect from Reibun. This pass is three miles long. After encamping, we ascended a hill on the south, about 400 feet in height, whence we had our first view of the long range of Attâkah, and of a strange, abrupt group of mountains lying to the north of it. The intervening country across which our course lies to-morrow had exactly, as we saw it, the appearance of a raised map. From the top of the hill we had ascended, we made our way down by the channel of what must have been a magnificent cascade. We estimated its perpendicular height at about seventy-two feet. One timid hare was startled by us as we descended; the only sign of life in these strange desert regions, and I do not remember that we met with any trace of vegetation. . . . . After coming out of the pass this morning (March 17th), our course lay through the Wady Ramlieh, of which it forms a part. Attâkah was before us all day on the north-east, and Jebel Deraj on the south, while (what we took for) Zeffarini rose before us, but quite faintly, still farther in the same direction. We were all surprised at the amount of vegetation in low shrubs (among which we noticed the myrrh and tamarisk as the most frequent), in the plain upon which we emerged when we left Wady Ramlieh, or, at all events, the pass that forms part of it. The Arabs are not very definite, nor the maps, *therefore*, very uniform, as to the limits of these wadies. . . . . It was a memorable moment when, about one o'clock, we had our first, though very distant and faint, view of the Red Sea. Soon, too, beyond it, we caught a glimpse of the Asian coast, and of the bluff promontory stretching from it of Jebel Hummam. The ranges (four, as we counted them) of Jebel Deraj, with a rich purple hue on them, formed now a most lovely feature in our southern prospect. When we were still two miles and a half distant from the sea, and the sun about thirty-six degrees above the horizon behind us, we were much struck by an appearance on its surface of which none of us had ever seen "the like before." It was divided, apparently, into three broad bands, the more distant and the nearest of the sweetest, softest blue, and the middle and larger one like a sheet of burnished silver. The

sharp dividing edges of these bands were not the least extraordinary part of the appearance. On the flank of Attâkah, *which is much longer* (trending north-westwards) than the maps represent, we were all amused by an appearance which Mr. Arthur well described as of "petrified tents." It *was* as though the Hebrew encampment had been suddenly hardened and fixed there for ever. . . . . The mountain (Attâkah) itself we judged to be about fifteen miles in length north-westwards. Chalk, or white limestone, was the material of the hills under which we encamped opposite Attâkah, and about two miles distance from the sea, which is eight miles broad at this point. The hills on either side shaped themselves into gates as we approached it.

SINAI AND THE WILDERNESS OF PARAN.

We found the Maghârah tablets some 300 feet high, on the surface of a sandstone mountain at the end of the wady, which takes its name from the cavern at the entrance of which some of the hieroglyphics are found. Next to one of the two tablets at the entrance of the cavern, are a few lines of the Sinaitic writing. Besides these two, we observed six other tablets with columns of hieroglyphics written on them. In these columns cartouches are found, which I copied. They are given (accurately, of course) by Wilkinson; and show that these records are of a date long anterior to the Exodus. . . . . Climbing round the rock, farther away from the extremity, we came on four tablets of sculptured figures, as beautifully executed as any we saw up the Nile. Three of them represented kings of Upper and Lower Egypt in pursuit of fugitives, and then punishing them when caught. In one instance, Thoth stands by, approving the penalty as it was inflicted. The other tablet represents on one side the king offering to Athor, and on the other, the same monarch offering to Isis. One of the *three* tablets was five feet by three in the sculptured part of it, and contained a cartouche of Suphis, the builder of the Pyramids. The existence of these tablets is an important part of the evidence which meets us in so

many forms, that the desert was a very different place, formerly, from what it is now, and that probably a large commerce was carried on, through, and by means of it, between Egypt and countries farther east. . . . . Going on through Wady Mokatteb, we came on the inscriptions in large numbers. We all agreed that they *should* be "counted by thousands." Some were fifty feet high where we saw them, and many on the fallen rocks, had evidently been much higher. Large numbers of them met us long after our sheikh said they were finished. I saw only two names written in Greek, among the inscriptions: one in Wady Maghâra, ΙΩΑΣΑΦ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ; the other in Mokatteb, ΙΩΑΣΑΦ ΡΟΔΙΟΣ. I name these, because Stanley alludes to them; but our own impression was that they have been recently written, like many of the Christian monograms, and written by the inmates of the neighbouring monastery. . . . . They have very much misconceived these inscriptions who suppose they mean nothing. Evidently, most evidently, they are *records*, and have been seriously written. The ludicrous pictures which occur amongst them are very few, and have nothing to do with the writings themselves, as plainly appears in most instances, from their position. . . . . It was quite dark when we reached our encampment in Feiran. How delicious was the fresh, clear, *tasteless* water which was there brought to us from one of the excellent wells which make one of the great distinctions of this valley. . . . .

Here, in Wady Feirân, we had our first heavy rain, wetting our tents and baggage, and this was succeeded by a terrible thunder-storm, while we were under the shadow of Serbal. It would have been grand anywhere to hear those long trumpet-like peals, reverberating through and amidst such heights, and to be encompassed by the blazings of such lightning, but in Serbal—believed by so many to be the very "Mount of God"—it was most overcoming, and we all felt it, with feelings of deep awe, to be so. . . . . We went through the Wady Aleyat, to the foot of the chief ascent, and on our way, fell in again with numerous, or rather, I should say, innumerable inscriptions, most of them on huge blocks, fallen from great heights, amongst the débris

with which the wady is filled from end to end. Two hours' difficult, toilsome walking brought us to the foot of the long steep gorge, called the valley of Abou Hamad, from the—many more than "six"—trees of wild figs that grew in it. It is here that the labour of the ascent begins. As we toiled upwards, we came every now and then to deep pools of delicious water; over us, ravens and eagles were skimming through the air; and constantly our senses of sight and smelling were regaled by the sweetest flowers and shrubs, quite startling in their fragrance and beauty, in the midst of such vast and awful desolation. For four hours and a half we struggled with determined energy against the toilsome difficulties of the ascent, and, at length, reached the top, thoroughly exhausted. We were six hours and a half in all, from the time when we left our tents, in accomplishing this feat of climbing, which Burckhardt said was the most difficult he had undertaken. Abou Hamad lies due N. and S. On the E. side it is hollowed, by the weather apparently, into deep holes; on the west, huge balustrades of rock come forward, as if for the use of giant forms, as they go up and down that stupendous staircase. The path turns westwards at the top of it towards the summit, just before reaching which we found a set of stairs to relieve the last portion of our toils. On the summit we beheld the Arabian peninsula spread out before us, exactly as if we were looking on a raised map of it. The effect was very wonderful. I verified each portion of Keippert's chart by the help of my compass; and, in general, I found it correctly laid down, with the exception of the Senneh range, which bore more continuously, in the north-west, towards the Jebel et Tih than he has described. We could see faintly the mountains across the Gulf of Akabah; the gulf itself was not visible. The Egyptian mountains were quite distinct. We found traces of a ruined building at the top, and *four* sets of Sinaitic inscriptions. We made renewed inquiries of the Sheikh of Serbal respecting the annual sacrifice of a sheep on one of the neighbouring mountains, by the Arabs. This question we found some difficulty in getting settled, as they were evidently reluctant to talk about it. But at length he acknowledged the fact; and told Mr. Arthur that

it took place on one of the neighbouring hills leading down to the Wady Ram. The sheep's throat is cut, and it is then precipitated over the mountain.

March 29th.—We are in the convent of St. Catherine. It is a jumbled labyrinthine assemblage of mean buildings, all, with their courts and galleries, in the ruined broken appearance one sees everywhere in Eastern lands. The church is about ninety feet long. As for the mosque "towering" aloft close to it, this is a small dilapidated room with a tower in proportion. I need not describe the contents of the church, or give its history, this has been done so well by Robinson. And I will only add that I made out, with the help of a glass, two Greek inscriptions on the roof. The first, in the centre—"No man can serve two masters. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Strait is the gate"—was on an open volume held by Our Lord. The other—"Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world:" "He saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove and resting on Him,"—was on a scroll surrounding Him. In the apse is a striking representation, apparently in mosaic, of the Transfiguration. There are in the same place some strange, grotesque pictures of the final judgment, underneath one of which I made out the parable of the good Samaritan, given identically, with the exception of two words, τινὰ . . . δόκεις for τίς . . . δοκεῖ σοι—as in Griesbach's text. . . . .

On the third day after leaving the convent, we proceeded to our passage of the Tîh. Our sheikh took us first over some difficult ground leading up and down several gullies, along one of which we passed, in a north-westerly direction, into the Wady Gharabah. We were greatly surprised at meeting in this gully with Sinaitic inscriptions. They were not long, but, unlike those we had seen before, were *carved* in the rock.[1]

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[1] We found some more on the second day of our journey, after passing the Tîh. They were *written* on a large isolated rock, standing in the direct road between the Mureikhy Pass and Nukhl.

Immense mounds of alluvium rising to the height of 100 feet, and resting on sandstone, were the distinguishing feature of the wady along which we passed to the spot, where we began the climbing part of the mountain passage. I must not forget either, a beautiful and huge natural arch, through which the deep pure blue of the sky looked most exquisite surrounded by its limestone frame. We were nearly two hours reaching the top of the ascent, though Robinson makes the difference of level between the two plateaux to be only 1,300 feet. Nearly at the summit we came on a vast oyster-bed. Then came in view the Wilderness of Paran; and, far stretching on our right hand, in a direction almost due north, the Ojimeh division of the easterly ranges of the Tih. The desert, covered with stones, is hard to the tread, like that between Cairo and Suez.

Petra,[2] May 6th.—We had gained some notion of the ruins, in the course of our last night's moonlight walk amidst them; and the general arrangement of the city was at once evident, with the help of Laborde's plan. The ruins are not extensive, and an instructed eye may take in, at one glance, the whole range of them. First, we made our way to the Sîk, following upwards the direction of the channel, beside which our tent is pitched. We passed about twenty tolerably large tombs, having façades, such as one gets a familiar impression of from drawings of the place, and all with that square uniformity in the interior, which we had noticed on entering the city. We could not help stopping at the Khuzneh, on our way along the pass. Certainly, the freshness of its aspect is most surprising. You might suppose it had been finished last week. As for the shape into which it has been cut from the sandstone, which now encloses it as in a frame, every one is familiar with that. For a moment there is pleasure in the surprise with which you look on its elaborateness, but only for a moment, the tawdriness of the affair is so soon apparent, and is so offensive; at least, I found it so. There are two square rooms

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[2] For the ascent of Mount Hor, which we made before going into the city, see pp. 83, 84, *sup.*

in the centre, one opening into the other; and there is one, in a wing, on either side of them. Passing up the Sîk, we found it difficult walking amongst the loose stones, lying as in the channel of a river. Only in one place could we see clear traces of the ancient pavement. The pass is, in many places, choked with vegetation, the fig and the oleander being most conspicuous. On the south side we saw, nearly through its whole length, the ancient channel or aqueduct, about four feet from the ground, for the conveyance of water into the city; but I did not notice the upper one, of which Robinson speaks. Having reached the end, and passed under the mysterious arch, I set myself to look out for the tunnel which has recently been discovered. There are many tombs in the open space on which you emerge on leaving the Sîk, and, going northwards among them, I found the tunnel. In part it is artificial; but I should say that the chief portion is a natural hollow in the rock. Its length is 310 feet, its width 20 feet, and in height it varies from 20 feet to 35 feet. As we were still uninterrupted and unnoticed, I ventured some distance onwards beyond the northern entrance of the tunnel, but my progress was soon stopped by the thick and tangled trees, still of the same species as before. In this direction, I have no doubt, further discoveries will be made. The tunnel is a sign of the traffic which formerly passed in this direction; and we fancied we could see, through the bushes, glimpses of tombs; but it was impossible to reach them without the means and appliances of a "pioneer." We now retraced our steps backwards into the wady. The theatre, and the tombs, and temple, in the east side, we found just as they are described by Robinson and Laborde. Into the one the front platform of which is raised on arched substructions, we found it an affair of no small difficulty and risk to climb. We were much surprised by the square, limited, naked uniformity of the interiors of these tombs or temples—for dwellings they certainly were not—of which the façades are so imposing. *Imposing* they are in more senses than one. They *look* like great works, but they ought not to be so called. I believe that the most elaborate of them—*e. g.* the one on the east side, with the three rows of pillars—might have been carved out of the pliable

rock by a skilled band of workmen in two years. Miss Martineau speaks of traces of others being discernible in different parts of the wady. We saw nothing of the kind. The traces she speaks of are precisely what we saw in the Wady Meselgeh, and arise from the gradual crumbling away of the stone by the weather, which marks in the face of it, as the process goes forward, fantastic projections and hollows of all kinds, being such as the fancy might easily shape into the outlines of buildings. In the wady I have named, it was difficult to believe that we were not looking on the ruins of a cathedral in one place, and in another, on a regular turreted fortification. While we were examining the theatre, we were discovered; and though I was annoyed, I could not help even then being amused with the surprised delight of the sharp, sinister-looking Arab who found us. It was the hunter coming unexpectedly, in the road he was half inclined to neglect, on the prey he most coveted. However, after some time, we managed to secure him for our own purposes, and made him guide us up to the Ed Deir, the only object of interest we had not yet seen. Through turns, and passes, and up steep ascents, along high flights of stairs cut out of the solid rock, now impending hundreds of feet above our heads, now stretching sheer downwards into deep abysses, through this toilsome way, which seemed to us, exhausted as we were, quite endless, we went on till we reached the Ed Deir. The same pretentious front, cut out of the same soft rock, and the same square interior room—single in this instance—was our reward for all this labour. The strangeness of seeing such a piece of gaudy ostentation in a nook on such a height, was all that we found observable in the famed Ed Deir. . . . Our general impressions respecting Petra will appear from what I have just written. I think the accounts which travellers have given of it are exaggerated; but then there was no point or object which they specially dwell on that we had not already seen, and, in some instances, more advantageously. Wady Tayibeh is as remarkable for its narrow windings, and still more so for the colouring of its rocks (p. 55, *sup.*) Meselgeh is even more extraordinary for the fantastic shapes and features into which the stone is cast. As for the

façades, there is nothing pleasing or wonderful about them. Nor were they nearly so numerous as I had been led to expect. They should be counted by scores, rather than by hundreds. The Sîk remains; but this is noticeable chiefly on account of its length, and this certainly does not exceed one and a quarter mile. . . . . We saw Petra thoroughly, and we both agreed that it does not deserve its fame. Unconsciously, travellers have extolled it more than it deserves, on account, as I believe, of the difficulty of getting an entrance into it, and then of the excitement, occasioned by the annoyances, not to say the dangers, of the place while they are there.

PHILÆ.

The wild, fantastic, "impish," character of the Arabian scenery (on the road from Assouan to Philæ), took us by surprise, and this surprise grew into wondering rapture when, on the western side, the rocks opened upon one of the most richly grouped and coloured pieces of scenery we had ever looked on. The dark hue of the basaltic rocks, contrasted with the sandstone around them, and mingled with occasional groups of palms; here and there an ibis, or a vulture, or a lonely man; all this, under the light of the morning sun, which was strongly cast upon it, presented the most lovely spectacle that can be imagined. We did not come here this morning to witness beautiful scenery, but this, we all agree, is unquestionably the most beautiful we have ever seen. . . . . They who have written rapturously about the scenery of Philæ itself, must have seen it first when the moon softened its ruggedness, and glorified or concealed the squalid "surroundings" that are about it. . . . . Our plan enabled us to understand in a few minutes every part of the rather intricate arrangements of the temple. Looking for the representations of Isis with the infant Horus on her knees, the Egyptian "Madonna and Child," of which we found two examples—we came into a subterranean chamber underneath the eastern sanctuary, into which, with a little difficulty, we

descended. "It has the appearance," as Wilkinson says, "of being intended either for concealing the sacred treasure of the temple, or for some artifice connected with superstition, and perhaps with the punishment of those who offended the majesty of priesthood." . . . . We ascended the great propylon, and the view thence strongly revived and confirmed a thought which had been suggested in our morning's ride concerning the original teacher of the Egyptian architects. This was surely none other than Nature herself, if I may so speak. Among the forms into which the huge masses had been thrown, which we passed in the morning, we had seen the very model of Egyptian sphinxes and colossi, and broad flat-roofed temples. And, when we looked from the propylon, there, right in front of us, was the very image of a seated Rameses, with his hands resting on his knees; while, behind, we saw, in another rock group, the model of just such towers and porticoes as those on which we were then standing. The propylons have all many stories or chambers, and it is probable that these were the apartments in which the priests lived. In leaving the place we saw the bas-relief of the king beheading "innumerable," or rather thirty-three, captives, which Stanley so justly ridicules. His remarks are most just, as well as extremely "well put," about the affectation of the Ptolemaic "restorers." One sees it again on the front of the propylon at Edfoo, in the enormous figure of a king about to despatch, with one blow of his uplifted mace, a crowd of victims, whose raised supplicating hands are just discernible beneath him. I suppose that about the same time elapsed between the date of these temples and that of the "pure" Egyptian, as now stands between our "restorers" and those periods which give us the "safest types" to follow.

THEBES.

. . . . Karnak is not one temple, but a group or aggregate of temples. I think I distinguished seven, or eight of them, having five distinct avenues, or gateways. This assemblage of buildings stands within an enclosure whose perimeter is

nearly a mile and a half. The most ancient of them is about the centre; it is of the period of Osirtasen I. Behind this again, *i.e.* towards the south-east, is the next most ancient of the group, which is an edifice built by Thothmes III., and is in partial preservation, while the earlier edifice in front of it is utterly cast down, and only traceable by means of its ruined fragments on the ground. Third in order of antiquity, comes the temple of one of the Amunophs on the north-east; then we have the work of Osiris in the "great hall," and of his son Rameses II., who completed the sculptures of this part of the building, and added the front court and the propyla. Next comes the small temple built by the third Rameses in the south colonnade of the front court, and spoiling its symmetry most effectually; then follows the temple on the western side of this same court, by a later Rameses; the series being completed by the remaining temple or temples of the Ptolemaic period, of which we may say that, as there appears to be most uncertainty about them, so are they of the least importance. Hence it will be seen that this stupendous group, or mass of structures, was the product of labour extending over more than 1500 years, which, on the largest estimate of *English* history, is 300 years longer than we have existed as a nation. This is worth observing, to dispel a portion of the bewilderment which must lay hold of every one who comes here, leading one to think, at first, that Karnak was the work of beings greater than men. Bearing in mind this surely not unimportant element of time, have we not many works in England that infinitely surpass Karnak?

. . . . Our way to the "Tombs of the Kings" lay through a long gorge or ravine of limestone rock, winding westward from the northern extremity of the Theban plain. One may well call it a glaring solitude, for the painful brilliancy of the light on the high, yellow mountain, and the utter loneliness and gravelike silence of the place, are the features in it which chiefly strike you as you slowly and painfully stumble through it, over huge stones that have fallen down upon the paths from either side. At the end of about two miles and a half, you reach the

"Tombs." No one, when they were covered up, could suspect that they were there; and, even now, one of the strangest features of these strange works, is the ordinary appearance of the opening into most of them. It is just such an entrance into the rock as would be fitting if it led into an unadorned chamber, twenty feet square, and nothing more. For what *it does* open upon no description can prepare you. We went, of course, first into "Belzoni's Tomb." This is the chief and most beautiful of the twenty-one which have been explored. (Diodorus says that there were forty-seven in all; and that of this number only seventeen were open in the times of the Ptolemies.) I can only say here of this wonderful result of human thought and industry —most wonderful in all respects, and not least in this, that, when finished, it was closed up, never, it would seem, being intended to be looked upon — that it extends 470 feet into the solid rock, and is 180 feet in depth below the level at which it is entered. This includes a long inclined passage below the "Hall of the Sarcophagus," to the bottom of which we descended. How much farther this descent extended no one can tell. It is now blocked up at the end by a fallen rock. The chamber or saloon of the sarcophagus, called the "Hall of Beauty," is thirty feet by nineteen; and, when lighted up, is seen to be covered, above and on all sides, in an absolute prodigality of art and genius, with the most appropriate sculptures and paintings that can be imagined for a place formed with its design. To reach this hall, you pass through eight passages and five chambers. Of these chambers, the third is in an unfinished state, "the sculptors not having yet commenced the outlines of the figures which the draughtsmen had but just completed." But, as I said, the others are covered, as are the walls of the passages, with all kinds of funeral designs. Wilkinson gives them with perfect correctness. . . . . The thoughts which constantly recur in these symbols are the following: (1) *Life*, denoted by the figure of Kneph, in his sacred boat; (2) *Remembrance*, denoted by the ibis-headed Thoth; (3) *Judgment*, by Osiris, with his crook and flail; and (4) *Retribution*, by Anubis, the dog, who stands by to execute speedy judgment on those

souls who have not endured the trial. All these, with Thmei, the goddess of justice, are the special symbols of the tombs, continually recurring in all of them. In this of Belzoni's, you see, moreover, on the pillars of the first hall, the various divinities receiving Osiris after his decease; and in the side chamber, at the end, near the grand hall, there are terrible representations of horrid tortures inflicted on the reprobate who have not passed the trial before Osiris. There is also a striking picture in the first hall, of the Egyptian division, into four orders, of the human race. But, most of all, I was arrested by the endless figures of serpents, in all forms and sizes, and in every apartment of the tomb. One, particularly, on the right-hand side of the descending passage, struck me as a singular aid in the true interpretation of the third chapter of Genesis (comp. *Script. Studies*, pp. 3, 4). It is of great length, winged, four-legged, and has three heads. I think no one who has *seen* these serpents can doubt that they were meant for symbols of the angelic intelligences. . . . .

We saw at the end of Bruce's tomb the picture which Miss Martineau says she made out with such difficulty.. But two other instances of the same representation, and one of them much more striking, came under our notice to-day. The one I now allude to was in the west tomb, No. 9, belonging to Rameses V. There the wicked soul, sent away from the judgment-seat of Osiris, under the charge of monkeys, and in the shape of a pig, is pictured in connection with the judgment-seat itself. And near this is the inscription of the "Daduchus of the Eleusinian mysteries, who visited Thebes in the reign of Constantine." In this tomb we also saw a huge, but now broken sarcophagus, and the length or course of the year represented by two long lunar figures. strangely shaped, upon the ceiling. No. 14, which we also visited, is chiefly remarkable for the use of the Scarabeus (in the picture so well described by Miss Martineau), as an emblem of the union between earth and heaven. Besides these, we looked into other tombs, but they did not present any features worthy of special note; and though wonderful, merely as excavations, and for their orna-

ments, yet they will not bear comparison with those already named, which are numbered 17, 11, and 9. It is well worthy of remark that all the paintings and sculptures of these tombs "where the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, each in his own house" must have been executed by torch-light. It was an excessive strain upon the mind to attempt the examination of them in one day, as we were forced to do; and we felt relieved from a great toil when it was over.

In the old temple palace of Quoorneh the three things worthy of remark are:—(1) The *triads* in which the gods present themselves, an arrangement of them so common that at present my impression is, that it is invariable; (2) The ark-procession, the shrine being borne by twelve priests (Joshua iii. 6), of which also one sees many instances; and (3) The offerings of posterity to their glorified ancestry amongst the gods.—That this temple was built also as a palace is the fact which gives a clue to the uses of the many side-chambers which it contains. . . . . Hence we went to the tombs of the Assaseef, where some of the priests were buried. We penetrated to the very end of the large one described by Wilkinson, and this, considering we had to pass and repass a dangerous mummy-pit of unknown depth, and had to endure an almost insupportable stench from the immense flocks of bats that dashed themselves against us, was not an easy achievement. This tomb goes 380 feet direct into the solid rock; its linear dimensions, including the side-passages, are one-sixth of a mile (about), and it covers one acre and a quarter of ground. It was "the tomb of a wealthy church dignitary," but of what period is uncertain. Here we justified on the spot the assertions for which I remember hearing Buckingham ridiculed; and, looking on the innumerable hieroglyphics that cover the walls of this tomb, we agreed that "if every soldier in the French army had been turned into an artist, they could not (in three years) have taken copies of the figures" which are represented on the walls of this, and the other tombs we have examined. . . . . But I was more interested in the next member of the group, though in respect of size it is inconsiderable. Its date is the

sixth century B.C., and it represents Egyptian society and modes of life as they existed in the time of Jeremiah. We saw glass-blowers, curriers, wheelwrights, coach-makers, boat-builders, in the pictures of this tomb, working at their trades as they do now. But the two things which most interested us were:—(1) the representations of the potter at his work (Jeremiah xviii. 1–4); and (2) the scales in which money was weighed to the seller on the completion of a purchase (Jeremiah xxxii. 9, 10). These tombs of the Assaseef are remarkably distinguished by the ostentatious approaches which led to them, whereas the kings' tombs were so plain as to be quite unnoticeable outside. Whether this fact marks "priestly arrogance and pride," or simply a later date, I cannot tell; the fact itself is most conspicuous. And here, in leaving those of the tombs which are remarkable for their religious symbols, let me refer specially to Ezekiel viii. 7–12, which wonderfully describes the places themselves, and the means of entering them. In going hence, as we did, past the mummy-pits, we had the very picture of Ezekiel's "valley of dry bones" before us, just as it is described in his 37th chapter.

MEMPHIS.

The approach to the Sphinx down the inclined plane, and long flights of steps that were formerly on the east face leading to the avenue of the temple, which then stood beneath its strange yet solemn visage,—must have been most impressive. But all is now covered over with sand, so that no traces of either plane, or steps, or avenue, are visible. How strange that, in their account of the Pyramids, neither Herodotus nor Diodorus mentions the Sphinx! And yet not stranger than that Pliny, though he describes the eruptions of Vesuvius, should say nothing of Pompeii and Herculaneum being overwhelmed thereby. But these examples should make controversialists very wary touching arguments from negative evidence.

. . . . At Sakkarah they took us into an extensive ibis pit. Here and there, in every direction, the galleries extended,

having frequent niches, or coves, in them, where these birds, bandaged, and in pots, were piled and packed up in numbers that one is afraid to give one's impressions of. Yet I will say that "millions" was the term that naturally occurred to us. We broke open several of the jars to find, if we could, one perfect mummy; but black dust, or crumbling bones, was all that we could meet with. . . . . Hence we donkeyed on, over deep white, sparkling sand, with the yellow range of hills before us, and over and through layers of human bones and mummy swathings—a death desert, of a truth—until we came to the Apis Pit, excavated about three years and a half ago, by M. Marriette. It formed part of the temple of Serapis, where the apis mummies were deposited. Probably it is the last of Egypt's wonders we shall explore, and my impression is that it is certainly among the greatest. Let this appear from the following dimensions. After going through an entrance, as little significant of the wonders it leads to as the entrance to Belzoni's tomb, you come into an antechamber 50 feet long, and stretching to the north. Thence, turning westwards, a long passage (of 180 feet, by 15 feet, and about 12 feet high) conducts you to the interior of the tomb. Here passages of immense extent, and which it was impossible to measure, on account of the accumulation of rubbish by which they are choked up, stretch in every direction. On either side of them, and with narrow spaces between each, are large galleries (36 feet long, 15 and 18 feet high) in which are deposited huge sarcophagi, of dark polished granite, having, in *some* instances, inscriptions within them. Each sarcophagus is 12 feet long, 8 feet high, and 15 inches thick. The lid, which slopes from the centre, where it is 3 feet in thickness, is, in every instance, pushed about 15 inches on one side, so as to give room for examination, and *plunder* of the contents inside. We counted 24 of these sarcophagi, and 31 galleries. In the second passage there is another sarcophagus, left apparently, on its way to its destined place inside, and not yet polished; *its* lid is lying on the floor of the antechamber through which you enter the tomb. It appeared to us that there is a much larger amount of space excavated in this "sepulchre of

the bulls," than even in the tomb of Petumenap at Thebes; and this, I believe, is the result of the measurements which have been most accurately taken. Mr. Lieder tells me that Marriette, the discoverer of this wonderful place, found in it the most continuous record of Egyptian periods that has yet been met with, and the names also of Pharaohs, even in the eighteenth dynasty, of whom there is no other mention. It is really most wonderful of all that, on coming outside, with a full impression upon one of all this subterranean splendour and vastness, you see no indication of it on the surface of the sandy plains—nothing that could *suggest* even a conjecture of what is below. You naturally think, accordingly, as you go along, may there not be equal marvels hidden beneath us at this moment? . . . But the day's toil in this journey is so excessive, that one has little inclination to meditate very profoundly; so, passing the brick pyramids of Dashoor and Sakkarah, we journeyed on across a long stretch of corn-fields covering the site "where old Memphis stood," until we came to the fallen statue of Rameses II. There he lies, his profile so distinct that the expression of his face—and it is soft and pleasing—is plainly discernible. Near him we saw fragments of other statues, it may be of the fellow Colossus, and of the smaller figures which stood near him. He marks the sight of the great Memphis temple of Pthah or Vulcan, near which, Herodotus says, these statues stood.

THE END.

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